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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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8 November 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

DZHUROV SPEAKS AT MILITARY SCHOOLS MEETING

AU151309 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Oct 85 pp 1, 3

[Report by Colonel Avram Molkhov and Captain Ognyan Stefanov: "Mastering the New Approach, Revolutionary Thought and Action"]

[Excerpts] The meeting of the Higher Educational Establishments is continuing for the third day. It was attended by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, and by Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, head of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army.

Colonel General Aleksandr Zvartsev, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-states to the Bulgarian People's Army, also attended the meeting.

Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of national defense, read a detailed and profound speech. He pointed out that the goal set for this meeting has been achieved. Experience was exchanged on the organization leadership, methodology, and intensification of the study-educational process and the study-material basis for constructing the developed military personality--officer and sergeant cadres loyal to the party, with high moral and military merits. The past year has been successful. The leaderships of the Higher Educational Establishments, and the commanding-teaching personnel have done much to intensify the study process for mastering scientific-technological achievements, and applying them in training and educating the cadets. The most important factor in this direction is that rather than looking and listening around, we have overcome the doubt in our own possibilities and capacities to introduce the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution.

We must have a precise idea and good information about the top achievements, about when and in what direction they are to be introduced in the life of the schools and the troops.

The minister of national defense stressed that the issue of a new approach is emerging with new force. This is not an approach of yesterday and today, but of tomorrow. Consequently, what is needed is a reconstruction, dictated

by internal and international reasons alike. This is the dynamic development of the scientific-technological revolution and the dynamics of introducing its top achievements in the military area and in economy. Whoever masters these achievements faster and applies them better will march forward in every respect. The superkey [superklyuch] to implementing this strategic task is to improve the style and methods of subjective factor's work, and to perfect them.

The contemporary international situation poses great requirements for the work for the work of the commanding-teaching personnel, for those responsible for the military education of the cadets--the future officers. Creating in them high moral-political and combat qualities, firm confidence in the advantages of socialism as a social system and confidence in the victory over imperialism, iron and conscious military discipline, forming in them a high sense of military duty and readiness to overcome the difficulties of the military service and self-sacrifice while defending the motherland and the socialist community, achieving great psychic and physical endurance--this must be at the center of the educational work of the commanding-teaching personnel, and of the party and Komsomol organizations, in the military educational establishments, and in the troops. Mastering and applying the new approach, and revolutionary thought and action will determine what cadres the army has after 10-15 years. This requires the perfecting of the selection and training of the commanding-teaching personnel, in order to introduce a broader outlook, secure the necessary continuity, and improve the system of its scientific character.

In conclusion, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov pointed out that it is necessary to perfect the study-material and scientific-research basis, to enrich it according to the requirements of scientific-technological progress, and to automate it. We have sufficiently trained scientific-military potential which can solve this issue quickly and in a qualitative manner.

The main thing now--on the basis of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress, the BCP Central Committee February Plenum, and the memorandum of Comrade Todor Zhivkov--is to constantly elevate to a higher level the practical application and commanding-organizing work and leadership of the higher educational establishments for the practical implementation of the party policy and decisions in the life of the schools and the troops.

With this the meeting completed its work.

CSO: 2200/22

BULGARIA

CUBAN DELEGATION'S VISIT REPORTED

AU151259 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] From 28 September to 11 October, a working group of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party led by Eugenio Mainegra, head of the Central Committee "Heavy Industry" Department, visited Bulgaria, and was acquainted with the BCP experience in managing the economy.

The group was received by Kiril Zarev, BCP Central Committee secretary. During the meeting, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, information was exchanged on the topical tasks related to developing the national economies of the two fraternal countries, and matters of bilateral cooperation were discussed.

The Cuban guests had talks at the BCP Central Committee "Economic and Scientific-Technological Policy" Department, the BCP Stara Zagora Okrug Committee, and the BCP Kazanluk City Committee. Meetings took place at the Ministry of Machine Building and the Ministry of Chemical Industry, as well as at the Committee on Geology, the Committee on Labor and Social Work, and the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Machine Building Workers. The Nuclear Power Plant Kozloduy was visited, as well as some industrial plants, scientific-research institutes, and many cultural and historical sites.

On 11 October, the working group departed from Sofia. At the airport it was seen off by Emil Bozhanov, deputy head of the BCP Central Committee Economic and Scientific-Technological Policy Department.

CSO: 2200/22

BULGARIA

SCIENTIFIC SESSION ON ASEN-PETUR INSURRECTION

AU161951 Sofia BTA in English 1743 GMT 16 Oct 85

[Text] Sofia, 16 Oct (BTA)--The 800th anniversary of the uprising of Asen and Petur and the restoration of the Bulgarian state is the topic of the scientific conference which opened today in the town of Veliko Turnovo organized by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and "Kiril i Metodi" University in Veliko Turnovo.

The conference is attended by 120 Bulgarian scientists and specialists and outstanding scholars of the medieval Bulgarian state from the GDR, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Belgium, Greece, Ireland, Canada, the U.S. and the FRG.

The "Turnograd, the Turnovo Literary School and Culture in Southeastern Europe" international symposium is being held within the framework of the conference.

The scientific conference was opened by Acad. Nikolay Todorov, vice-president of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. In his speech he stressed that the triumphant uprising of the Bulgarian people led by the brothers Asen and Petur and the restoration of the Bulgarian state after a two-century Byzantine domination, though not equal in importance to the foundation of Bulgaria, is of paramount historic significance.

In the course of two days the scientists will discuss various problems related to the development and the role of the Bulgarian state in the 12-14 centuries, its international prestige, its relations with the other Balkan states, its contribution to Slavonic culture and its influence in south-eastern Europe.

CSO: 2200/22

BULGARIA

YORDANOV SPEECH AT BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM

AU171532 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Oct 85 p 8

[Report on speech delivered by Georgi Yordanov at the European Cultural Forum in Budapest on 15 October]

[Text] Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the Committee of Culture, and leader of the Bulgarian delegation to the European cultural forum in Budapest delivered the following speech: He expressed the deep gratitude of the delegation to the government and the cultural public in friendly Hungary for the excellent conditions created for the work of the remarkable European forum. We have come here, the speaker pointed out, to this city distinguished by its ancient culture, and we are carrying across the borders our different ideas and convictions, but we are united by one common goal--to search for an easy road toward security and cooperation. Our meeting is taking place in 1985--a year in which the peoples marked the 40th anniversary of victory over Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism, and this fact has endowed 1985 with a particular significance. There is one lesson to be learned from our recent past: that our continent, which is the cradle of civilization and cultures, of centuries-old humanitarian and democratic traditions should never again be transformed into a battlefield and a heap of ashes. However, how easy it is to pronounce this truth, and how difficult it is to achieve it.

The nuclear threat which is intensifying, due to the fault of imperialism and the increased arms race are now causing concern and alarm throughout the world, Comrade Georgi Yordanov stated. Is the earth not becoming smaller, when its distances are not measured by kilometers, but by the minutes of the flight of a deadly missile warhead? However, despair is not a way out of the situation. There is a way out of this situation, as a matter of fact. It is contained in the peaceful initiatives of the UN, of UNESCO, and of other international organizations, it is contained in the proposals of numerous states, in the expansion of the anti-war movements. The constructive initiatives and actions of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist states are of particular significance in this respect. The Bulgarian delegation thinks that the Budapest meeting is called upon to pave the road along which culture and creative art are merging with the great idea of peace. Europe is capable of making its contribution by setting its noble example and it must do so.

As a European state, Bulgaria is constantly striving for understanding and cooperation, for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone on the Balkans, for security on our continent and throughout the world, the leader of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria recalled.

Georgi Yordanov stressed in his speech: Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, defines our foreign policy as a "strategy of honest and bold efforts for detente and for the elimination of hotbeds of tension, as a strategy of realism, of balance, and initiative in the struggle for peace."

The dialogue to which the highranking Budapest forum is calling us will be in accordance with the "strategy of realism" when culture becomes a constructive force of peace. The fateful dilemma which mankind is facing today perseveringly demands from the cultural figures today that they answer the following question: How and whom does their work serve? Is it humanitarian and sensible to waste the talents of scientists and inventors in the laboratories of death, when poverty, disease and illiteracy are oppressing millions of people on this earth, and when among the millions of children who are dying of starvation today, mankind may lose a future Einstein, or a future Petofi? It is the duty of the contemporary generation to create prerequisites under which people will never know the suffering of nuclear war, in which they will rejoice at the real memorable moments of life.

We deeply believe in the inspiring power of literature and arts to arouse pure feelings and lofty ideals in the people, to make them more human, and more tolerant toward the differences which divide us, more responsible to the truths that draw us closer together. The meaning and the fate of each real culture is to give beauty to people, to inspire them with faith in constructive values and in everything that is noble about man. The mission of culture is to inspire people with hope and to inspire them with that "ardent love of life and peace" as Tolstoy said.

Recalling that a creative artist cannot remain outside human relations and outside relations among peoples, the speaker stated: Were not the words pronounced by Vasil Levski, the leader of the Bulgarian national revolution, prophetic, when he said: "We live in our time and the time is in us, it changes us and we change time, as well."

The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria believes that the participating countries will intensify the dialogue based on good intentions and on a constructive spirit, which began 10 years ago in Helsinki, which was pursued in Madrid and at other international meetings. We are not expected forever to spin the threads of new disagreements. It is easier to contest ideas and to share truths in discussions, based on equal rights, rather than to refute deceptions and to disperse prejudices. Let us wish that this assembly may become a worthy manifestation of goodwill and common sense, of the sincere aspiration toward mutual confidence and cooperation, Comrade Georgi Yordanov declared.

The leader of the Bulgarian delegation briefed the forum on the thorough changes that have occurred in our motherland throughout the 40 years of socialist upsurge. He spoke on the achievements of our arts and culture, of science, and education, about the freedom of creative work and the full implementation of all talents in our society. The speaker described the democratization of culture which was transformed into an asset accessible to the people, he told about the social-state principles in the management of cultural processes and about the large-scale program on nationwide estetic education, about the care devoted to young people in our country. The worldwide childrens movement which was eatblished by Lyudmila Zhivkova, the inspired champion of a fruitful spiritual dialogue, under the title: "Unity, Creativity, and Beauty" was expressed in numerous noble initiatives, Comrade Georgi Yordanov stated. Children and young people from all over the planet meet in our country, they develop friendly relations and work together in a creative spirit. These children are engaged in learning the alphabet of peace. Is this not a lofty example for the grown-ups to follow:

Georgi Yordanov's speech revealed the large-scale cultural dialogue which Bulgaria expands with more than 130 states in the world, the numerous international meetings, festivals, exhibitions, and others. At the same time that the spiritual and intellectual achievements of numerous nations are participating in our lives, we are trying to overcome restrictions and to create a culture open to the humanitarian principles of the world.

In noting that the existing dialogue between Bulgarian culture and the culture of the Soviet Union as well as of the other socialist countries is a convincing proof for the beneficial, intellectual communications, and mutual cultural enrichment, the leader of the Bulgarian delegation stressed that this process contributes to enhancing the role of a new socialist civilization and of universal cultural creative achievements in the world. Along with this, he expressed his regret that not all opportunities for full-fledged communication with certain countries are used, so that even more meaningful forms of mutual cultural cooperation may be introduced, and that this is not our fault. Bulgaria is ready to expand and intensify the fruitful intellectual dialogue for enriching the human personality and national cultures. In this context Georgi Yordanov expressed his hope that the meetings of the 23d session of the UNESCO General Assembly which are now being held in Sofia will serve this lofty goal, and the same applies to the discussions at the European cultural forum in Budapest.

The leader of the Bulgarian delegation stated in closing his speech:

Culture is an offspring of peace and the antithesis of war. It is a symbol of the victorious human spirit in creative and constructive achievements. The Helsinki Final Act 10 years ago pointed out the path toward detente and development of the European process. It is the duty of our countries to pursue this path. However, we can speed up this development, if only we bring our points of views and actions closer together. Let us not

forget that the great appeal launched by Schiller and Beethoven in the "Ode to Joy"--"Embrace, ye millions!"--was born on the ancient continent of Europe in order to rally the hopes of the whole world. Our peace-loving Europe must continue to evoke hopes! It has enough strength and the vocation to do so!

CSO: 2200/22

BULGARIA

DZHUROV'S ORDER OF THE DAY FOR AIR FORCE DAY

AU171312 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 Oct 85 p 1

["Faithful Defenders of the Frontiers of the Air--Order of the Day of the Minister of National Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria"]

[Text] Comrade airmen, cadets, sergeants, and warrant officers! Comrade officer and generals!

Comrade pilots and navigators, engineers and technicians!

Comrade specialists, workers and servicemen of the organization [Sistemata] of the Air Force!

Comrade airforce veterans!

Today the working people of our socialist native land and its valiant soldiers are festively celebrating Air Force Day.

An offspring of the Bulgarian Communist Party, our own Air Force has travelled along a glorious fighting path, studded with heroism and self-sacrifice in the battles against the Nazis in the Fatherland war, fighting together, wing-to-wing, with the glorious Soviet aircrew.

The Bulgarian people and the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army are celebrating Air Force Day in an atmosphere of universal working and political uplift and of active struggle to meet the BCP's 13th Congress in a worthy manner.

Closely united around the BCP's general April line, airmen, aircrew, engineers, technicians, and aviation specialists unanimously approve and warmly support the BCP's internal and foreign policies, stand steadfast, guard over peace and over the people's creative labor, daily confirm and add to the revolutionary traditions of the Air Force, worthily fulfill their military duty, and make their contribution toward strengthening the defense capability of our socialist homeland.

Together with the soldiers of our armed forces, and in united formation with the armies of the Warsaw Pact member countries, the Air Force of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is always ready to fulfill its patriotic and international duty in the defense of the fatherland and the achievements of socialism.

Comrades righting men, commanders, political workers, aircrew, engineers and aviation specialists,

I congratulate you most cordially on the occasion of Air Force Day and wish you new successes in the struggle to raise the Air Force's fighting readiness to a higher level, in the mastering and effective utilization of aviation equipment, and in the strengthening of discipline and observance of statutory regulations in the units.

Glory to the Bulgarian Community Party--organizer and inspirer of all our victories!

Long live the heroic Bulgarian people and its valiant Air Force!

Long live our dear socialist homeland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

Army General Dobri Dzhurov,

Minister of National Defense.

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BULGARIA

BRIEFS

AL-QADHDHAFI FLYING OVER, GREETES ZHIVKOV--Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, has received a greetings telegram from Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the 1 September revolution of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah. Flying over our country's territory he addressed wishes for progress and prosperity to the friendly Bulgarian people. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHEKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Oct 85 p 1 AU]

BALEV RECEIVES USSR MINISTER--Comrade Milko Balev received Boris Kravtsov, USSR minister of justice. In a cordial and comradely atmosphere they discussed questions of cooperation between the two Ministries of Justice and the prospects of the further expansion and intensification of this cooperation. The meeting was attended by Colonel General Velko Palin, chief of the BCP Central Committee's Social and National Security Department, and by Svetla Daskalova, minister of justice. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 4 Oct 85 AU]

M'BOW RECEPTION; FILIPOV, OTHERS ATTEND--On 17 October, at the National Historic Museum in Sofia, Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, UNESCO director general, gave a reception on the occasion of the 23d session of UNESCO's General Conference. The reception was attended by Comrades Grisha Filipov, Stanko Todorov, Georgi Yordanov, and Dimitur Stanishev; members of the government; cultural figures; and leaders of the world organization. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 17 Oct 85 AU]

TAKOV DELEGATION RETURNS FROM KAMPUCHEA--A Bulgarian delegation, led by Peko Takov, deputy chairman of the State Council, has returned from Kampuchea. The delegation had taken part in the work of the Fifth Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 18 Oct 85 AU]

ZHIVKOV GREETES GUS HALL--Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, has sent the following greeting to Gus Hall, general secretary of the U.S. Communist Party: In the name of the BCP Central Committee and in my own name I send you most cordial fraternal communist greetings on the occasion of your 75th birthday. Communists and all the workers of our country know of you and deeply respect you as a selfless and indomitable internationalist fighter against imperialism and reaction, who has devoted

his life to the cause of the working class in the United States. We highly value your personal contribution to the strengthening and expansion of the traditional ties of fraternal solidarity between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the U.S. Communist Party, which, I am sure, will continue to develop in the future on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the name of the common struggle for peace and socialism, and in the interest of friendship between our peoples. I sincerely wish you, dear Comrade Hall, good health, happiness and new successes in your highly responsible work at the head of the struggle of American Communists for peace, democracy, and social progress. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Oct 85 p 1 AU]

DZHUROV, MILITARY LEADERS ATTEND CEREMONIES--A festive celebration was held at the Central Club of the Bulgarian People's Army at which Comrade Dobri Dzhurov presented awards to soldiers who distinguished themselves in political training and in combat training. They are awarded for the achievement of great successes during the 1985 training period. The decree of the State Council for presenting decorations to those who distinguished themselves in training and an Order of the Minister of Defense on out-of-turn promotions were read. Comrade Dobri Dzhurov also met the outstanding creative workers who distinguished themselves in the nationwide competition organized for young people in the Bulgarian People's Army in the sector of scientific and technical innovations. He presented awards to the winners in this competition. The ceremony was attended by Colonel General Velko Palin, head of the BCP Central Committee Social and National Security Department; Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of staff of the Bulgarian People's Army; and Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the People's Army Main Political Administration. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 18 Oct 85 AU]

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES DEPARTMENT AMBASSADORS--Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, received yesterday Khalid 'Abd Muhsin al-Batain, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Kuwait to Bulgaria, in connection with his forthcoming final departure from Bulgaria. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, was present at the meeting. Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, received yesterday Bayardo Salmeron Chavez, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Nicaragua to Bulgaria, on the occasion of his final departure from Bulgaria. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, was present at the reception. Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, also received yesterday Mitsutaka Akiho, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Japan to Bulgaria, in connection with his final departure from Bulgaria. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, was present at the reception. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Oct 85 p 1 AU]

FILIPPOV RECEIVES NEW AUSTRIAN ENVOY--On 11 October Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received August Tarter, the newly appointed ambassador of the Republic of Austria to Bulgaria. The reception was attended by Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Oct 85 p 6 AU]

CSO: 2200/22

HUNGARY

COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE'S PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 6 Sep 85 p 7

[Interview with Peter Schiffer, chief of KISZ CC Youth and Public Opinion Research Group, by Ervin Csizmadia: "Only the Stuffing is Indifferent, A Discussion About Youth and the KISZ"]

[Text] The most stable forms of organization, the so-called "great goals" influence youth less today than in the past. Many youths would rather form spontaneous organizations and often become members of many different associations. A segment of public opinion (and scientific thought) regarded this group-oriented activity as harmful for quite a while. Thus it is important that we see the relationship between youth and the political movement in its entirety. Since 1972 the KISZ CC Youth and Public Opinion Research Group has examined and analyzed the role, activity, and social significance of KISZ and the youth movement, and the role of KISZ in the lives of young people. We discussed this with Peter Schiffer, director of the research group.

[Question] We speak often of KISZ and youth. It would seem that everyone has something to say. Under these circumstances, can anything new be said on this subject?

[Answer] I must answer an emphatic yes, although some may consider these new conclusions to be truisms. I must mention one movement, simply because I myself thought about it differently in the past: the protection of interest and representation of interest movement. Based on earlier studies, I felt that this movement needed support. But protection of interest--strange as it may sound--is actually diminishing the effectiveness of KISZ for youth. No doubt many will prick their ears at this: up till now, this was one of the most important tasks of KISZ. However, this representation requires technical competency and the result of the movement is the reinforcement of professional attitudes. Thus as a result of the daily struggle for penny-wise advantage, the necessarily paternalistic what-do-I-get-for-it attitude develops: when youths have accomplished their economic tasks, when they have "laid something on the table," then they can start to make their demands. Looking at it from another angle: KISZ does have an important role in the protection of youth interest, but youths are only aware of it on a generalized, theoretical basis.

I find that when reporting or solving problems through formal avenues, youths do not fare well. I believe that this stems not from an ignorance of their rights, but far more from a tendency for the protective role of KISZ to be limited by society's demands.

[Question] What demands are you referring to?

[Answer] Society's push in the past four or five years towards stronger economic management has pressed many other important activities into the background. When the economic tasks must be performed under strict deadlines and limited wages at any given enterprise, the representation of uniquely youth-oriented interests has little opportunity. The more constrained the sponsoring business, university, college or what have you, the less effective working of KISZ is possible. However, when alternatives are considered and planned in advance, there are so many more opportunities for KISZ to provide a valid direction.

[Question] For the high schools, what makes KISZ important?

[Answer] The young people provide us with no usable demand system. When we ask them what they would like to get from KISZ, they mention mostly recreational activities for their free time. But when we study where they spend their free time, we find that they rarely avail themselves of KISZ-organized programs. In all this, I do not want to imply that the fault lies with youth. The most significant contradiction is that the structure of KISZ is not built from the bottom upward. This determines its activity, and it cannot support any initiatives based on youth's wishes.

[Question] I know of cases in which KISZ tried to support those initiatives which originated at the bottom. At one school, questionnaires were distributed to determine what activities young people preferred. At the end, though, they didn't even attend those programs they requested.

[Answer] Must program organization start at the top, through questionnaires? Wouldn't it be more effective to say to youth: do whatever your circumstances allow you to do. Think through what you need to mould your immediate surroundings to your inspiration. Today's practice is preprogrammed to organize, organize, and then try to drum up support for the organized product. When the youth arrives, the "stuffing" for any particular event, it is hard to imagine how he could consider it his own.

[Question] Top-down organization is a stubborn artifact.

[Answer] And it is a reflection of a social preconception, not an internal concern of KISZ. Not even KISZ can withdraw itself from this. I feel that in the case of youth organizations, the generalized goals and objectives must be formulated at the "top," and the practical activities must be worked out by the organizations themselves.

[Question] The idea continues even today that it doesn't hurt the candidate to be a KISZ member at college entrance exam time. If someone is not a member, he can consider himself at a disadvantage.

[Answer] I have met young men whom employers were not willing to hire until they joined KISZ. Whereupon they went to the KISZ office and signed up. They got membership cards, and thus employability and employment were taken care of at once. I say all this to make clear that despite the fact that KISZ is the mass political organization of Hungarian youth, membership in KISZ has no prerequisites, or rather such false prerequisites as in this previous example. Should KISZ automatically accept these obligated youths, or is it enough that they become obligated while in the system? This can be debated, but I think it should become possible to distinguish between non-KISZ members and KISZ members, between active and inactive youths.

[Question] Still, mature adult thinking cannot be expected from high-school students.

[Answer] But for them membership based on obligation is no solution. To become a member of KISZ must carry with it concrete requirements. Let there be a difference for those active in KISZ. If there is no mark of distinction for membership in the organization, the whole organization loses its meaning. The case in which nominal KISZ membership is a requirement for something else is not the only example. There are high schools in which the youths organized their own youth movement outside the "official" KISZ. They were independent, they established goals for themselves. They were convinced that their activity was the true KISZ. It is thought-provoking how realistic these sovereign associations' judgements on the members are in comparison to "flagellating" teachers' comments: "You'll never amount to anything anyway, son." All because the student is not excellent academically, nor is his deportment outstanding.

[Question] Most young people adjust to the existing conditions of a formalized basis and never contrast their true opinions and morality with the schools'. They choose the path of least resistance. Why do they take no interest in these efforts?

[Answer] In my opinion, this is just extrapolation. I do not believe that it is against the students' nature to find activities and support for self-expression within the schools. The problem, rather, is that KISZ becomes such an embedded part of the school's structure that youth cannot differentiate between them. School and KISZ mean the same thing. The movement becomes like a class. After all, many KISZ meetings are held during homeroom, and in many cases the KISZ liaison is also the homeroom teacher. The selection of a KISZ leader is the product of teacher interference. Gradually, the best students become KISZ leaders. However, simply because one is studious as an adolescent, one is not necessarily also a good leader. The teacher instructs the leader, and necessarily so because KISZ structure echoes the school's structure. Even in 1970, the youth policy decree emphasized that youth should have an increasingly large arena for independent activity based on their unique interests. However, as no safeguards for the realization of such activity were created, the schools and institutions exercised strong objections to youth's initiatives. Today's Hungarian political culture does not consider it natural for youths to create their own organizations. It wants to slot them--via politically-oriented study groups or student theatre--into the existing structure.

[Question] You mentioned that teachers generally "make" KISZ leaders out of good students. I assume that behind this stands the idea that a leader should foremost show example in academia.

[Answer] Looking at it from an individual standpoint, we see that the limiting factor in leader selection is the exceptional academic record. Thus broken down to individuals there are requirements which do not apply to the school as a whole. One principal said, "We take part in every event. Whenever possible, we motivate youth to study. The academic average of the school is 3.2. They require that we always be represented in the various celebrations and activities, but they do not ask how the students perform in their studies. This is a serious contradiction that influences the relationship between youth and KISZ; it destabilizes, confuses morality, reinforces the selection of the unfittest. Meanwhile, the standards erode: the standards that say talking about politics is not the same as political action, that action, participation and responsible moulding of the environment is the real educating factor."

[Question] Earlier, we spoke at KISZ's role as political educator. Can there be political education within today's organizational framework?

[Answer] I often hear that KISZ is a "residual" organization concerned mainly with problems that society cannot tackle with given time and effort. The youth organizations must often concentrate on economic tasks which are not in their "profile." The main standard for KISZ is its action for the economy and for studies, and thus all other activities become secondary. The symptoms of this condition is that fundamental organizations turn to stopgap measures which only give the appearance of political education. For example, at one or two general meetings the past week's world events are discussed, and thus politics is taken care of temporarily.

[Question] Based on what we have discussed, would you say that today's youth is indifferent?

[Answer] Whoever mentions indifference is judging youth's lack of participation in KISZ meetings and events, and later council discussions and so on. I would say that this alleged indifference is an important signal that youth has a low opinion of something. What do these events give to youth? Does something important happen there which touches the young people, which is interesting and compelling for them? This is the first question. And since today these meetings, orientations and so on are generally uninteresting to youth, I consider the classification of indifference on its own to be meaningless.

[Question] What chance do you see for the movement to become youth's real platform for action and a school of politics and public life?

[Answer] An important task for KISZ is to represent the problems of youth to society. It will only be capable of this if, first, it is relieved of the "residual" tasks mentioned and, second, it a new organizational framework develops to make youth's life more colorful. KISZ must recognize the various associations, but, it does not hurt to emphasize, they must not be considered political rivals of KISZ. There can be no doubt about the political role of KISZ. However, I believe that the extensive local organizational activity can be the impetus which will renew the youth movement of the future and the KISZ itself.

HUNGARY

RECOGNIZE GYPSY NATIONALITY, BEGIN SOLUTION OF 'PROBLEM'

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 4 Sep 85 p 5

[Article by Andras B. Balint: "Gypsies, Chances--Suggestions to Establish Cultural Association"]

[Text] The development of the gypsies' social situation came again into the focus of public interest. Beside the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front the Gypsy Council was also formed, and a club was established for the continued training of folk educators for the gypsies. The Council of Ministers recently discussed the demographic, social and educational situation of the gypsies in Hungary and it determined what was to be done in connection with this. All this justifies a survey of where on the road toward adapting to society this group of about 400,000 individuals has arrived so far, what the most urgent things to be done are to further improve their situation.

In the thermal pool of the Palatinus Spa a heavy-set man, pointing with his index finger to the gypsy children frolicking nearby, says to his wife with absolute certainty:

"Not until they gather all of them together and settle them in a single colony will the gypsy question in Hungary be solved!"...

Besides soccer this is the other "matter" in our country in which everybody is, or thinks that he is, an expert. A recently arrived letter from a reader urges even more radical measures than did the bather, above all against the gypsy families with many children. On a recent visit to the countryside I met a teacher who metes out harsh punishments to gypsy children who dare speak even one gypsy word in school. They must be assimilated, if necessary, they must even be forced to abandon their language, their way of life, customs--many people consider in general this to be the only possibility for a "solution."

Gypsy Council Established

The gypsy question as a social problem belongs indeed among our straining worries. This is witnessed by the fact that the highest-level party and

state organization from time to time discuss the situation of the gypsy ethnic group, they make decisions and give directives. Most recently the Council of Ministers listened to and accepted the report of the Interministry Coordinating Commission about improving the living conditions of the gypsy population. And it is no coincidence that within the Patriotic People's Front this year the Nationwide Gypsy Council was established, in whose ranks the representatives of the gypsies are seated and are urging realistic solutions with their opinions, suggestions and criticism. The contradictions of the gypsies' situation, the difficulties of their adaptation to society, the reservations of the environment are attested to by several sociological surveys--among others by a few carried out by the Research Center for Mass Communication.

The number of gypsies in Hungary is 370-380,000, but some estimates even allow for a population of half a million. More than one-fifth of them speak a dialect of the gypsy language, and several thousands have Romanian as their mother tongue. The birth rate is twice the domestic average, but by the turn of the millenium a slow ebb in gypsy births can be expected.

In contrast to general belief--according to which the gypsies are lazy and work-shy--85 percent of the men work regularly. This agrees with the occupation ratio of the non-gypsies, although it is true that their majority does unskilled work, there are few production managers among them, even fewer intellectuals. The remaining 15 percent are mostly unable to work, pensioned off, or persons earning their living with an occupation not permitted by law. The traditional gypsy trades--knife-grinder, nailsmith, tinker, trough maker--are practiced only by a few by now, most have positioned themselves at the periphery of industry: in constructions, in secondary branches of business, in smaller factories. They have difficulties tolerating the discipline and the vocational demands of large-scale industry.

Women's employment has improved also. In 1979 only 30 percent was employed, today this ratio is 53 percent. The national average of women's employment is 74 percent. The family's standard of living is considerably higher when the women work. Of the gypsy families, 20-25 percent has already caught up with those having an average standard, the ratio of those having the bare necessities for subsistence level is 40-45 percent, while the remaining 30-35 percent are scarcely able to keep body and soul together, they live from one day to the next.

Together or Separately?

Six years ago 80,000 of them were still living in shanty towns. By the end of 1984--as we learn from one of the reports of the Interministry Gypsy Coordinating Commission--the number of settlement dwellers decreased to 40,000. Most are living under subsistence level, they are not creditable, they would have a right to be given an apartment to rent by the council but they are living in a village or town where apartments for rent do not exist or are being built only in insignificant numbers. The pace of doing away with the settlements varies from county to county, in Transdanubia they are generally ahead of the rest of the country. It is a question whether, after being moved out of the settlement, the gypsy families should stay together or be

made to live separately. There are good examples in favor of both ways. Gypsies have a strong feeling of solidarity and thus for example the president of the National Gypsy Council thinks that it is better if the people leaving the settlement move into the same street or the same neighborhood. This way they are not forced to give up their ethnic living customs or their language.

In contrast to the 30 percent of 1979, today already 50 percent of the gypsy children graduate from comprehensive school in school age. Although more and more children go to kindergarten or preschool occupation, the number of gypsy children excused on account of immaturity for school continues to be extremely high. Many among them are over-age, those who repeat grades, unjustifiably many gypsy children are referred into institutions for the education of retarded children. Yet, in general, they are struggling against disadvantages stemming from their backgrounds; their aptitudes are not missing but the conditions necessary for learning are.

In order to improve the lot of the gypsies it is necessary to raise their level of education. Their ethnographic, musical and literary traditions also deserve to be preserved more efficiently. Lacking the proper mediating institutions, public opinion has a rather faint idea of all of these. Nurturing the traditions of the ethnic group could be best served by a gypsy cultural association; decision about establishing it and the conditions of its operation can be expected in the near future. Preliminary discussions have already begun between the representatives of the National Gypsy Council and the Ministry of Education. According to the view prevailing in the Gypsy Council the obvious solution would be if the gypsies could set up an association as did the Germans, Romanians, Slovaks and Yugoslavs, which would unify the educational activities safeguarding the interests of this ethnic group in a collective manner.

Conditions Are Given

Two years ago, in the interview of HETI VILAGGAZDASAG, gypsy scholars, sociologists, writers--among others gypsy intellectuals--expressed their views on the chances of the gypsies' social adaptation. It was pointed out by several people--e.g. poet Jozsef Choli Daroczi, current president of the National Gypsy Council, writer Menyherth Lakatos, candidate Gyorgy Kerekes, chief associate of the Sociological Institute of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party--that the main condition for the gypsies' progress is recognition of their being a nationality. They stressed that among the circumstances of socialism the conditions of becoming a nationality are given and that this recognition would be important for enforcing open protection of interests. This role has up to now been undertaken by the gypsy intelligentsia, called unique by Menyherth Lakatos, but it is clear that without legal safeguards this self-confident, however small group cannot assume playing this role efficiently in the long run.

"In my opinion socialism is exactly the society most favorable for the gypsies becoming a nationality"--wrote Jozsef Daroczi in his polemical article. "It is a different question that this depends upon the decision of society. It depends on society when it considers the given group mature to be declared a

nationality. . . I know, for the gypsies to become a nationality in our country the social conditions for this would have to be created. Why these conditions do not exist and how they could be created, I do not know. But I do see that our present regulations concerning the gypsies are not truly successful either from the gypsies' point of view or from that of the non-gypsy part of society."

"Socialism is indeed creating a favorable atmosphere for the gypsies, even if not for their becoming a nationality, but at any rate for their complete adaptation to society"--said in answer to our question Mrs Istvan Kozak, Ph.D., secretary of the Interministry Coordination Committee operating by the side of the Council of Ministers. "It was for this reason that we suggested in the discussion material submitted to the government establishing a gypsy cultural association which can participate efficiently in the interest of the gypsies' rising up higher.

For the purpose of establishing an association a preparatory committee was born in the Ministry of Education, which also has more than ten gypsy members. They would indeed like to create a nationality association but, for the time being, this does not have its basic foundations. Even establishing the cultural association would have great importance, after all this would open possibilities for publishing a gypsy newspaper--a long since drawn-out matter--for giving scholarships to gypsy intellectuals or to persons wanting to be active on behalf of the gypsies and, in general, it would be a basis for mobilizing the gypsies toward improving their cultural and social situation. The conditions for this are indeed given..."

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HUNGARY

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES RECEIVE HIGHER PRIORITY

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Aug 85 p 5

[Article: "Changes in the Management of Environmental Protection"]

[Text] The condition of the natural environment has become one of the most significant questions of our times. Its quality influences the achievement of economic, political and social goals just as much as it does the health of the population. Naturally resolution of the tasks of protecting the environment and nature has become an integral part of socialist plan management. It is fortunate that we have succeeded in moderating the decline in the land area suitable for agricultural use. At the same time, it is an unfavorable phenomenon that the pace of soil renewal is not balancing the deterioration of the productive capacity of the land caused by destructive natural forces. It is also obvious that we need a significant improvement in the handling and application of fertilizers, so-called agricultural chemicals, in a way that spares the environment.

In many cases it has been possible to stop or slow down the deterioration of our bodies of surface water. We have created a basis for protection of the water quality of Lake Balaton, and a consistent implementation of governmental measures can bring further noticeable improvement. There is much to be done in protecting the quality of our under-ground water supply, which does not have nature protection, as well as in increasing waste-water purification capacity.

As a result of steps taken, the amount of air pollution has decreased; 25 percent or 130 thousand metric tons less solid pollutants are passing into the air, and it is noteworthy that the improvement is taking place mainly in the most polluted areas of the country. But experts and authorities know well that in certain localities the air is polluted at certain times--mainly as a result of a spread in coal heating and obsolescence of vehicles.

The number of plants and animals that are under nature protection has increased as a result of effective measures that have been passed to help safeguard them. The portion of land covered by forests is gradually increasing, and this tendency will continue in the future. At the same time, the frequency of diseases detected--mainly among pine trees and poplars--is alarming. The treatment and storage of various kinds of wastes is not sufficient, and in some populated areas damage from noise and vibration can be detected.

The scientific basis for and organization of environmental protection has expanded in recent years, the level of control has improved, and one can say that steps forward have been taken in state management and legal regulation of the land as well. The goals incorporated in long-range environmental concepts are valid and still in force today. On the other hand, compliance with laws and other environmental-protection measures is not sufficient, and we must more effectively record and control the phenomena that damage the environment. Cooperation among various ministries and other organizations with nation-wide authority needs to be improved.

In the near future increased care must be taken in regard to the prevention of environmental pollution. There is much that needs to be corrected in the attitudes and behavior of the enterprises and the population concerning environmental protection. Influencing these is an especially important task, because in this way many worries can be prevented or remedied without expense.

The recent decision made by the Council of Ministers is aimed at coordinating the management of environmental protection and further developing its organization. It increases the role of the councils in environmental protection and strengthens the sphere of influence of the National Office of Environmental and Nature Protection. The government's step took into account the fact that the reorganized Parliament has created a Committee for Settlement Development and Environmental Protection, which in the future will perform at a higher level the tasks of the former National Council of Environmental and Nature Protection (MTI [Hungarian Telegraph Agency])

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HUNGARY

ROLE, FUNCTION OF TV IN PUBLIC LIFE

Budapest PROPAGANDISTA in Hungarian No 4, 1985 pp 57-69

[Article by Mihaly Kornidesz, President of Hungarian Television: "On the Cultural and Educational Intermediating Role of Television"]

[Text] The Standpoint of the Cultural Policy Panel, which functions alongside the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, raises the doctrinal and practical questions of artistic policy in the broadest context and chiefly from the general public's vantage point. It is especially pleasing that within the range of questions it lifts the standard in connection with television's significance and responsibility. At the same time, it is not a task which requires mechanical implementation but is rather a framework which--in view of the objective needs of social progress and the social demands that rest upon them--preserves the successes achieved so far and wishes to move forward.

From television's viewpoint, we see the main trend of further development in the establishment of a cultural and artistic practice which is committed to transmitting values and honoring the public.

In this regard, the following remarks are still just initial reflections, ideas aimed at internal shopwork, starting points for the elaboration of a comprehensive and detailed concept necessary in the long run.

* * *

The goal and task of television's cultural programs is to be present in cultural life. It is not our determination that half the country's population encounters cultural creations exclusively on the television screen. Television's specific and often seemingly contradictory task is to see to it--while striving to provide its viewers with high-quality programs--that the viewers take advantage of other cultural opportunities: reading and going to the movies, the theater, exhibits, concerts. And since the citizenry first learns about many things, including cultural events, from television, it is not a matter of indifference what we give information about, what we put people in the mood for, what we "make fashionable." Our news and our public-affairs commentary, however, do not always provide adequately critical and adequately explicit guidance. Nor is the information satisfactory. Too much information and too much talk can sometimes dampen the spirit; on the other hand, values get lost because of inadequate

information. We have set to work on the presentation of regional culture and, in connection with this, on the job of fostering good taste. But we have not done everything in the interest of cultured conduct and speech as opposed to linguistic carelessness and behavioral coarseness.

The task of "Studio '85" is first and foremost information and cultural reportage. The program's special feature is its broadly interpreted concept of culture. In addition to information, room is also made on the program for the various branches of art. We discuss a great deal how we could help to popularize the arts more: by producing workshop statements and portraits or by displaying the works and letting them speak for themselves? Gaining the upper hand in recent times is the view that the work should speak and not the creator, or less severely: the public expects and demands production instead of explanations. Other, newer programs ("Reserved Table," "Word, Music, Picture") seek a solution to the foregoing contradiction in a synthesis of production and explanation.

It seems that we have managed most successfully in musical programs to create the threefold unity of adventure, entertainment, and the impartment of artistic knowledge. In this sphere, of course, the spectacle--opera, choreography--is at an advantage; in conjunction with this, we can say that music has found its niche in television. The proof of this is that in addition to the enormous demand for light music the current bandmaster competition is a lasting success. The regular screen appearance of music of interest to young people awaits a solution.

The combined pressure on the spheres of light music grows heavier, and the confusion encountered in this area is also present on the screen. There are those who grumble about the inadequate presence of the newest musical groups on the screen and feel that there should be a way for us to channel the new and fashionable musical groups--or those forced into the underground--into the nondeviant mainstream of light music. We cannot do this, however, since even the music of the earlier--today it can be called oppressed--period is unacceptable to the majority of our viewers.

According to some, there are not enough literary programs on television; others find unsatisfactory the number of programs dealing with the visual arts. It is undeniable that for the time being we have not found the most successful method for presenting poetry analysis and prose literature. Visual culture and experience of the spectacle offer many more opportunities than television avails itself of. But let us not forget that--unique in television programming--at 8 o'clock on Saturday evening, in prime time, we broadcast poetry and that every week we present an object of art, a Hungarian folk dance, a folk music or TV opera production. Many foreign television colleagues have asked where we get the courage for this. We believe that great courage is not necessary for this: after all, the cultural policy requires and the public accepts this cultural mission, and the Standpoint urges its continuation.

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The Standpoint devotes a great deal of attention to creative artistic workshops. The telefilm and the teleplay occupy an exalted place among television's artistic products. They amount to 50-60 program units a year.

There is no question that television has already produced many valuable teleplays and telefilms which have elicited a significant reaction from the public. Nevertheless, in addition to these, finding their way onto the screen have been works characterized by capriciousness of selection, by weak dramaturgical work, and by a low professional level of execution.

The production of telefilms and teleplays is very expensive, and the inevitable curtailment of money has hit this domain the hardest. The number of works produced annually has declined little by little, because the increase in the television budget has not kept pace with the rise in production costs. This process prevents an improvement in the artistic standard and endangers the program's national characteristics.

The general public makes higher demands, namely, on the Hungarian teleplay. This broad, massive, and simultaneous act of viewership depicts the boundaries of social expectation more sharply than the reception for movies, fiction or the theater. At the same time, the television audience expects not only effective truthfulness from our teleplays but also the formulation of artistic truth by the work's creator in an understandable manner. The artist-audience relationship is put to the test day in and day out on television, and here the slightest deviation intensifies the voice of the discontented a millionfold. Unpretentiousness always elicits a strong critical reaction, coarse speech and images the viewers' repugnance.

The important task of the creative drama workshop is to produce--in comparison with the bygone period--more works which mirror the dramas of contemporary Hungarian life and reality and to bring to light with artistic power more things from those processes which are taking place in the Hungarian society of today. We must consciously undertake to be that part of Hungarian cultural life which is the arranger and workshop for works of such a mentality. With particular regard for living Hungarian literature without whose partnership we cannot exist.

In this connection, genuine concern is caused by the problem which Gyorgy Aczel referred to in a lecture delivered at the Political Academy on 13 October 1984: writers, artists, and scientists have still not truly awakened to the possibilities lurking in mass communications, or rather they take no notice of them. They frequently feel it is beneath their dignity to improve the supply of programs with valuable and interesting works, with program suggestions. Instead, with the superiority of comfortable outsiders, they find fault with the programs.

But it is a tradition of several decades in television that--following with interest the new literary crop--we make every effort to adapt the very best of contemporary literature. We also take pains to encourage the creative spirit with competitions and prizes.

If we want a good many successful teleplays which give heed to the public and have modern themes, then efforts must be redoubled to obtain a staff of contemporary authors. The goal is the creation of original works written for television.

The dramatic portrayal of the historical past and fateful events and the depiction of noteworthy personalities and key figures have always won the public's interest, whether a classical work or a contemporary drama served as the basis for the telefilm series. We know that in order for our creative workshops to find their own audience, they must choose from a broad range: classical and contemporary works, individual and serial films, comedies and social dramas.

* * *

The Standpoint assigns an important role to entertaining and being entertained. It properly calls attention to the fact that "the desire for entertainment and relaxation is a natural human requirement." This requirement cannot be underrated or denied. At the same time, we can encounter at every turn in our daily practice "the aristocratic disparagement of the public's requirements for diversion and the low standards in reference to them."

In keeping a tight hold on this dichotomy, both the public and the cultural policy expect the most from television. And rightly so. (Compare the debate in ELET ES IRODALOM.) It would not be proper to examine television in itself, however. Without turning too much to the past, we must state that in the last 25 years--outside of television--the number of workshops has declined where "professional" and high-standard programs of entertainment are prepared. It is not just television's headache that entertainment programs scarcely have a well from which themes, ideas, writers, and contributors could be drawn. Light forms of entertainment in literature are forced into the background. Nor does the legitimate theater consider entertainment its primary goal. This does not, of course, excuse us from seeking a solution more persistently; on the contrary, it encourages us to open up the gate wider and invite in as many helpers as possible.

Hungarian Television has produced a fair sprinkling of successful entertainment programs during the last 5 years. Many can be listed here, from "Who Knows What?" to "The Duel" and "The May Day Marchers Requested It." Certain entertainment programs have also increased our knowledge in a playful way. For example, "The Rainbow," an interurban quiz show which has not only promoted acquaintanceship with the cultural developments of the last 40 years but has also performed a great service in reciprocal appreciation--before roughly 3.5 million viewers. The fact that entertainment and high quality combine so well also sets a good example. All this, however, does not and cannot make us forget the memorable flops, the weak, boring programs.

In 25 years, television has developed a flock of entertainment genres (games, contests, quiz shows, miscellaneous live broadcasts) which have come into and gone out of style. The special TV spectaculars, the variety shows, have hardly prospered. It has been the general professional belief for a long time that in this field we cannot compete with advanced and affluent Western television programs. We cannot compete with them, in fact. Not only the adjacent socialist countries' productions but also our own first efforts are the proof. The entertainment may have its own national character; this is shown by the success of a few musical productions.

The public is not an abstract category. We should rather turn our attention to the requirements of social strata and age classes, focusing special concern on entertainment activity of interest to youth. According to our observations, the best works and the best values in a good adaptation and in the appropriate place generally mean a mass success. And if, nevertheless, we are occasionally forced to make concessions, the reason for it is that there are few high-quality works of entertainment throughout the world, and our selection is not always good enough.

Television entertainment, while it undertakes to supply pleasant diversion and social and individual recreation, can fulfill this role of maintaining the general state of health only with understanding and restraint. We ourselves declare, as does the Standpoint, that entertainment and artistic value cannot be placed in opposition to each other.

Nor is our situation made easier by the fact that professional criticism--while encouraging an increase in television's entertainment profile--is often impatient and not understanding enough with initiatives in this direction. It frequently prepares a caricature instead of an analysis, it ridicules and does not help. So the task and the responsibility are also great here.

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Television's educational role naturally assumes the continuous presence of the entire domain of culture. We still have plenty of things to do in the area of spreading technical-scientific culture. Over the course of time, we have had illusions which we recognized, and in all likelihood there are still some today which we have not yet acknowledged. It has become evident, for instance, that television cannot be everyone's school, everyone's instructor, but it can provide many people with a broad assortment of high-quality offerings for the development of their general education and for acquaintanceship with the world's new phenomena in science and technology. And, let us add, with scientific exactitude. It must be admitted at the same time that--albeit rarely--some unscientificness also occurs in our programs. At other times, the level is too high, and it is unclear what the basic knowledge is of the viewer we were aiming at.

Television can perform its educational task more effectively together with other institutions. Today there are numerous good examples ("Jokai and Other Competitors") for effective cooperation. Cooperation with amateur movements, with schools ("Fly, Peacock," "Who Is Scholarly in What?"), joint productions with film studios, with theaters, etc. But there are many more opportunities than we can make mutual use of. Cooperation must be strengthened with book publishers, with cultural centers and movements, and with the Society for the Propagation of Scientific Knowledge. There was a time when this connection was very lively and both sides alike benefited from its advantages. We must reexamine this jointly, disinterestedly, with a readiness to help.

"School Television" is borrowing more and more broadly from sets of topics which speak to children and young people. Expansion of their further activity in this direction is to be considered. Programs should be prepared--programs that survey

and summarize knowledge--which could form a possible matrix for the video tape recorders so widespread in the schools.

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The foregoing has mostly been a discussion of the particular problems of individual cultural specialties, problems which first and foremost concern shopwork. Increasingly, one of the main tasks of the institution's leadership now and in the future is to better formulate the entire programming process.

There are periods when the total programs' focus on the capital city is almost offensive. The uninterrupted presence of cultural life outside Budapest must be made permanent on the screen. Generally speaking and in the case of certain literary genres and program types, the leadership should take much more courageous advantage of its order-giving role.

We must show greater concern for the arrangement of programs, for propaganda, for the harmonization of channels one and two. Even masterworks have had a poor reaction because they came on the screen at a bad time.

The public is irritated not only if we broadcast a successful program at a time inconvenient for it but also if we let the program coincide with something else. In recent times, for example, it has been often mentioned that very many high-quality individual and serial films (documentaries, music, artistic programs and those that spread scientific information) get lost and frittered away in the mass of programs (early in the afternoon, late in the evening). So consideration must be given to how a more suitable program structure--one shaped even more by values and by program-policy endeavors--might be worked out.

In the interest of carrying out these tasks we must take as our starting point that--in addition to the numerous advantages of the program structure now in effect--there exist diverse conflicts and unacceptable drawbacks (produced by us and by necessity), formalities and stumbling blocks. We do not consider suitable what is offered on weekends and the variability in prime-time programming. We are particularly concerned that, on the one hand, the present program structure does assure a permanent place for the programs we prepare at great expense and, on the other hand, that there are too many "booked spots." Prime time has been occupied in particular by the growing number (today 60-70) of series and magazine formats which require a regular appearance. A portion of them, by repeating each other (with respect to topics as well) and by appearing routinely, often cause trouble in editing and in the development and diversification of program content. We must see to it, through modernization of structure, that the workshops fulfill their permanent program-performance duties with greater unerringness, while current events also receive more play. And that there is also an opportunity for programs to compete with each other. The good program can squeeze out the poorer one.

We must make more conscious use of our assets. We must strive to see to it that the immortal treasures of our national culture appear regularly on the screen. In the interest of this, we must work out a system for reviving programs which assures that every 3-5 years--patterned after scholastic instruction,

if possible--each age group encounters the outstanding creations which can be seen in television adaptation. In this regard, the widespread availability of video tape recorders offers a considerable opportunity.

The Standpoint comes out against comparison between "mass culture" and "high" art. Let us add that in our opinion both the foregoing concepts precondition each other, even if they often come into conflict. But this conflict can be overcome: the future projects a promise of synthesis before us.

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The self-supporting television station is a rare exception in the world's television industry. We would be unable to produce our programs just on our own resources. Nor would it be right to aim for such, since it is a commonplace that television is the window to the world. This is why we need imported programs. Television annually shows 600-650 feature films, the thumping majority of which are foreign. Selection is increasingly difficult, unfortunately, because the opportunities to purchase are becoming fewer and fewer due partly to the assortment and partly to our financial possibilities. Roughly half of the imported programs are from the socialist countries; the other half is divided between films purchased from the third world and the capitalist countries.

A significant part of the products of bourgeois "mass culture" are prepared by the local television companies. These products, even the ones which present themselves as apolitical, often represent an ideological and moral attitude against which the given country's general public and the better half of the intelligentsia and artistic community take a strong line. Maybe we will say little, for example, about the aversion with which film and television experts in Western Europe regard the commercial dumping of the American television companies. Playing a noteworthy role in this repudiation are the European cultural tradition and the value scale which find it difficult to tolerate the aggressiveness, barbarity, and unrestrained arrogance which emanate from a portion of these films. It appears, unfortunately, that the above-mentioned aversion and the shield of the national and European value scale are ineffective. For the time being, Western Europe is unable to hold out against American dumping: West European cinematic art, which represents higher values, is losing its wind and is uncompetitive due to its disadvantageous situation. Few are the contemporary values which promise a box-office smash.

The Standpoint rightly criticizes television for the occasionally weaker, sometimes low-grade imported films. Compliance with the requirement for quality amounts to the biggest concern in television imports. The fundamental principle in film selection is that we place the main emphasis on values. Naturally, the more fastidious critical selection does not want to seal the viewers off from progressive Western values or from entertainment films which meet the requirements for presentability. We could do that, incidentally, only if we significantly reduced the number of works shown.

Shopping is made difficult today by the fact that a film--as opposed to television--has the important advantage of being shown in a movie theater. Although each citizen of our country sees only seven films a year in a movie

theater (he occasionally sees that many on television in a week), the film circulators have the selection privilege. Because of this right of first choice, the more successful works may find their way onto the television screen only later.

Cooperation among the television industries of the socialist countries is very important. We have still not exhausted all our possibilities in this domain; there is a need for more joint programs. Alongside the coproduction of telefilms, there might be room for the greatest initiative and experimentation in the field of entertainment programs. But mutual acquaintanceship is served well by artistic, educational, and scenic films the reciprocal circulation of which must be increased.

It is well-known that television programs broadcast by satellite will come to fruition in the not-too-distant future and that even today we must reckon with competition from several Western television programs--programs by no means free of ideology. Moreover, the spread of videocassettes will have a powerful impact on television's future.

These new features of television require a concentration of power for which the individual capacities of the national television industries will no longer be sufficient. There will be need for international socialist solidarity in both the ideological and financial-technical aspects in order for us to match the competition in the two most difficult domains, artistic and entertaining programs.

We are fully aware that keen competition is emerging, that the newest American films, variety shows, and popular programs offering more choice will amount to a major attraction, and that it will be hard to compete with them. But the challenge must be accepted and, in addition to socialist solidarity, more will have to be done in television programs and cassettes alike to popularize the values of national culture. And perhaps cable television--it likewise belongs to the future picture but is already taking shape today--will help in the competition. Cable television can provide a forum for the settlements and the communities.

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[Text] 31 July 1985 Law on the Service of Officials of the Security Service and the Citizen's Militia of the Polish People's Republic

Chapter 1. General Regulations

Article 1. 1. A functionary of the Security Service or the Citizen's Militia as armed organizations subordinate to the Minister of Internal Affairs must be a Polish citizen of irrefutable ethical and moral repute. He must be civic minded and patriotic in attitude and have high socialist ideals, possess total public rights, have certain professional qualifications and the physical and psychological ability to serve and properly execute his duties to protect the socialist state, the rights of its citizens and public order and to preserve the rule of law.

2. Functionaries of the Security Service and Citizen's Militia should be totally devoted to the Polish People's Republic, faithful to the program of the Polish United Worker's Party and selflessly and conscientiously work to serve the people.

Article 2. The regulations of the law apply to permanent functionaries of the Security Service and Citizen's Militia as well as to those in training unless the law states otherwise.

Article 3. 1. Physical and psychological fitness to serve are determined by a medical commission of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs sets the principles for evaluating physical and psychological fitness, the procedure used to determine this fitness and the characteristics and procedure of the medical commission.

Article 4. 1. Before entering service, a functionary of the Security Service or Citizen's Militia, henceforth referred to as "functionary", must submit an oath according to the following formula:

"I, a citizen of the Polish People's Republic, conscious of my duties as a functionary serving within the Ministry of Internal Affairs, swear to faithfully serve the socialist fatherland that is the Polish People's Republic, the Polish people and the Polish United Worker's Party and to defend the constitutional principles of government even at the risk of my life and health.

"I swear to observe the law and principles of social justice, to support socialist rule by law and public order, be firm and principled in fighting crimes against the interests of the state, human health and life, to protect public and private property, strengthen public bonds and to encourage public activity to protect the security of the state and public order.

"I swear that I will selflessly and conscientiously do the duties to which I am assigned, follow strict discipline, execute the orders and recommendations of my superiors, preserve state and service secrets, protect the good name of the service, its honor and dignity and uphold the ethical principles of a functionary".

2. The ceremony used to pledge functionaries is determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Chapter 2. The Course of Service

Article 5.1. The service relationship of a functionary comes into being through his appointment on the basis of voluntary application for service.

2. Service is considered to have begun on the date on which a functionary is appointed.

3. A functionary may be appointed after the conclusion of his principal military service or transfer to reserve service.

4. The provision stated in Paragraph 3 does not apply to female functionaries or draftees mentioned in Article 122 of the law.

5. On entering service, a functionary receives an identification card and other service documents.

6. The Minister of Internal Affairs determines the type of service identification and other documents that functionaries are to receive, the organs authorized to issue them and the principles by which they fill out these documents.

Article 6. 1. A functionary is appointed for a training period of three years or a period of two years of candidate service.

2. Candidate service extends to the period of training service if the break between the two does not exceed three months.

3. On the conclusion of training service, the functionary is permanently appointed.

4. In the case of functionaries with particularly high qualifications, the superior having authority over functionaries' personal affairs, hereafter referred to as the "superior", may reduce his period of training service or totally exempt him from this type of service.

Article 7. Superiors are authorized to appoint functionaries to service positions or remove them.

Article 8. 1. A functionary of the appropriate education and professional qualifications may be appointed to a particular service position.

2. A functionary is obligated to work constantly to improve his level of education and his professional qualifications.

3. The Minister of Internal Affairs establishes the provisions on education and professional qualifications that a functionary must fulfill to hold a certain position of service.

Article 9. 1. The Minister of Internal Affairs creates, changes and abolishes warrant-officer and non-commissioned officer schools and training centers.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs determines:

- 1) the organization of schools and training;
- 2) programs and duration of training.

3. The principles of establishing, organizing and activity of the Ministry of Internal Affairs' schools of higher learning are determined according to separate regulations.

Article 10. 1. A functionary is subject to periodic evaluation of his performance in service.

2. A functionary learns the results of his evaluation within 14 days of its issue and has another 14 days to appeal it to a higher superior.

3. The principles of periodic functionary evaluation and procedure for entering or reviewing appeals on service evaluations are determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Article 11. 1. A functionary may be transferred or temporarily delegated to service in another locale at his own request or by official order.

2. Superiors are authorized to transfer or delegate a functionary.

3. The period of delegation may not exceed 6 months and the Minister of Internal Affairs may extend this period to 12 months.

Article 12. 1. A functionary may be ordered to serve in another position in the same locale for a period not exceeding 12 months. In such cases, the salary of the functionary may not be reduced.

2. A functionary may be delegated to service outside of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The conditions and procedure for this delegation, salaries and other benefits to which the functionary is entitled during this period of delegation are determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Article 13. 1. A functionary is transferred to a lower service position if as a result of disciplinary punishment he is reduced in rank.

2. A functionary can be transferred to a lower position of service in the following cases:

1) if a medical commission determines that he is permanently unable to serve in the position he presently holds and there is no possibility of transferring him to a parallel position;

2) if evaluation during training service determines that he is unfit to serve in his current position;

3) if two successive evaluations at least 6 months apart during the period of permanent service determine that he has not discharged his duties in the position held;

4) liquidation of the position held if there is no possibility to transfer the functionary to a parallel position.

3. A functionary can also be transferred to a lower position on his own request.

4. A functionary who does not agree to his transfer to a lower position for reasons stated in Paragraph 2 may be discharged from service.

Article 14. 1. A functionary may be suspended from service for temporary arrest for a period not exceeding three months.

2. A functionary can be suspended from service for a period of not more than three months if he becomes subject to criminal or disciplinary proceedings or is tried before an honor court as judged necessary for the good of the service.

3. In especially justified cases, the period of suspension may be extended to 12 months.

4. The Minister of Internal Affairs determines the procedure used by superiors to suspend a functionary from service.

Article 15. A functionary may be at his own request or by order sent to the medical commission of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for determination of

his state of health or to establish his physical and psychological fitness for service as well as to determine the connection between certain illnesses and his service.

Article 16. 1. A functionary is discharged from service in the following cases:

- 1) the medical commission determines permanent lack of fitness to service;
- 2) service evaluation during training service determines that he is unfit;
- 3) he is removed for disciplinary reasons;
- 4) he is deprived of his rank in the Citizen's Militia at the recommendation of an honor court;
- 5) subject to a valid court sentence of imprisonment if that penalty has not been conditionally suspended.

2. A functionary may be discharged from service in the following cases:

- 1) if two successive evaluations at least 6 months apart during the period of permanent service determine that he has not discharged his service responsibilities in the position held;
- 2) he is sentenced by court to imprisonment with conditional suspension of this sentence or the criminal proceedings are conditionally dismissed;
- 3) appointment to other state service or election to a function in a political or public organization on the recommendation with his agreement of government or state administrative organs or by the authorities of a political or public organization;
- 4) he gains the right to retire after 30 years of service;
- 5) if he requests that a decision be made on this matter within three months of submission of the request;
- 6) in an important interest of the service requires this.

3. The Minister of Internal Affairs must agree to retain in service a functionary described in Paragraph 2, Point 2.

4. A functionary is discharged from service according to Paragraph 2, Point 6 on the decision of the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Article 17. If a valid court sentence is rescinded or criminal proceedings are conditionally dismissed and the functionary is acquitted of any wrongdoing or the criminal proceedings are dismissed or if the disciplinary punishment of reduction in rank or discharge from service is rescinded, then the consequences of the functionary's having been reduced in rank are also

rescinded. The Minister of Internal Affairs decides on the rescision of other such consequences.

Article 18. 1. The discharge of a functionary on the basis of Article 13, Paragraph 4, Article 16, Paragraph 1, Points 1 and 2 or Paragraph 2, Points 1 and 4 may not occur during serious illness, any sooner than 12 months after the end of service due to illness unless the functionary requests his discharge.

2. The discharge of a functionary on the basis of Article 16, Paragraph 1, Points 3-5 and Paragraph 2, Point 2 may not take place no sooner than three months after the termination of service due to serious illness unless the functionary requests his discharge.

Article 19. 1. Female functionaries may not be discharged during pregnancy or maternity leave except in cases defined by Article 16, Paragraph 1, Points 3-5 or Paragraph 2, Points 2,3, 5 and 6.

2. Female functionaries discharged on the basis of Article 16, Paragraph 2, Point 6 are entitled to their salaries until the end of maternity leave.

Article 20. 1. Officers are discharged by the Minister of Internal Affairs but if they are pronounced permanently unfit to serve or are subject to a valid court sentence of imprisonment if that sentence has not been suspended, they may be discharged by their superior.

2. Warrant officers, non-commissioned officers and enlisted functionaries are discharged by superiors.

Article 21. 1. A discharged functionary immediately receives his certificate of service and at his own request an evaluation of service.

2. A functionary may demand rectification of his certificate of service and appeal his evaluation to a higher superior within 7 days of the date on which he received it.

3. Particular information that must be provided in the service certificate and in the evaluation of service as well as the procedure for the issuance and rectification of service certificates and appeals against service evaluations are determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs in regulations issued on the basis of Article 58 of the law.

Chapter 3. Citizen's Militia Ranks

Article 22. 1. Citizen's Militia ranks, hereafter referred to as "ranks", are conferred upon functionaries of the Security Service or Citizen's Militia when they are appointed.

2. The following ranks of Citizen's Militia are established:

1) privates of the Citizen's Militia:

- a) private;
- b) senior private;

2) non-commissioned officers of the Citizen's Militia:

a) junior non-commissioned officers of the Citizen's Militia:

- corporal;
- senior corporal;

b) senior non-commissioned officers of the Citizen's Militia;

- platoon sergeant;
- sergeant;
- senior sergeant;
- staff sergeant;
- senior staff sergeant;

3) warrant officers of the Citizen's Militia:

a) junior warrant officers:

- junior warrant officer;
- warrant officer;

b) senior warrant officers:

- senior warrant officer;
- staff warrant officer;
- senior staff warrant officer;

4) officers of the Citizen's Militia:

a) junior officers:

- 2nd lieutenant;
- 1st lieutenant;
- captain;

b) senior officers:

- major;
- lieutenant colonel;
- colonel;

5) general officers of the Citizen's Militia:

- a) brigadier general;
- b) division general;
- c) general of arms.

Article 23. The following functional corps are established:

- 1) enlisted men's corps;
- 2) non-commissioned officer's corps;
- 3) warrant officer's corps;
- 4) officer corps.

Article 24. 1. A functionary is ranked a private on the day of his appointment to service.

2. Privates or non-commissioned officers are superiors that have authority over the personal affairs of their subordinates.

3. Warrant officers are appointed by the Minister of Internal Affairs of a superior authorized by the minister.

4. Officers of the first grade, with the exceptions of of Article 32, Paragraph 2 and general officers are appointed by the Council of State on the recommendation of the Minister of Internal Affairs. The Minister of Internal Affairs appoints officers of all other ranks.

Article 25. 1. Appointment to the rank of non-commissioned officer or warrant officer depends on a positive evaluation of service and the position held. The other ranks below are determined as follows:

1) junior non-commissioned officer -- completion of a non-commissioned officer's school or the successful completion of a non-commissioned officer's examination;

2) senior non-commissioned officer -- possession of a middle-school education and completion of a non-commissioned officer's school or the successful completion of a non-commissioned officer's examination;

3) warrant officer -- possession of middle-school education and completion of a warrant officer's school or the successful completion of a warrant officer's examination.

2. In specially justified cases, a functionary can receive the first non-commissioned officer's rank or rank of warrant officer without meeting the conditions set in Paragraph 1, Points 1,2 and 3.

Article 26. 1. The condition for appointment to the first grade of officer's rank is a positive evaluation of service, the holding of a certain position or the completion of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Higher School or of some other higher school and a course of study at the Ministry of Internal Affairs higher school or successful completion of an officer's examination.

2. In specially justified cases, a functionary can be appointed to the first grade of officer rank without having fulfilled the condition of having completed a school or taken an examination as stated in Paragraph 1.

Article 27. Advancement to the next higher rank is done relative to the functionary's currently held service position, professional qualifications and service evaluation. However, a functionary cannot be promoted before he has served in his given rank for a required period of time as listed below:

corporal	-- 1 year,
senior corporal	-- 1 year,
platoon sergeant	-- 2 years,
sergeant	-- 2 years,
senior sergeant	-- 3 years,
staff sergeant	-- 3 years,
junior warrant officer	-- 3 years,
warrant officer	-- 4 years,
senior warrant officer	-- 5 years,
staff warrant officer	-- 5 years,
2nd lieutenant	-- 3 years,
1st lieutenant	-- 4 years,
captain	-- 5 years,
major	-- 4 years,
lt colonel	-- 4 years.

Article 28. 1. In cases deserving special consideration, a functionary possessing a positive service evaluation and certain professional qualifications or skills for serving in a certain position can be appointed to a higher rank regardless of whether or not he meets other requirements for advancement to that rank or before the established periods of service have passed.

2. A functionary discharged from service may be advanced to the next higher rank for special merit in strengthening state security or public order.

Article 29. 1. The ranks of non-commissioned officers, warrant officers, officers and generals are perpetual.

2. Dismissed functionaries may use the ranks they hold as stated in Article 22 with the addition of the term:

1) "reserve", if the functionary is subject to obligatory military service and is fit to serve;

2) "on leave", if the functionary is not subject to obligatory military service.

3. Loss of the rank mentioned in Article 22 occurs:

1) with loss of Polish citizenship;

2) a valid court sentence of additional punishment of deprivation of public rights or

3) a valid court sentence of imprisonment for a period of no less than one year for crimes committed for low motives.

4. The loss of rank mentioned in Article 22 can occur at the recommendation of an honor court for the committing of an act subject to the adjudication of this court.

Article 30. Loss or reduction of rank is pronounced by the superior officer authorized to appoint this rank. The revocation of the rank of lieutenant colonel is pronounced by the Minister of Internal Affairs while the revocation of the rank of general is decided by the Council of State.

Article 31. 1. A functionary can have his rank restored in cases of recision:

1) of a valid sentence of additional punishment by deprivation of public rights or

2) of a valid sentence for punishment by imprisonment for crime committed for low motives or

3) of a decision that formed the basis for deprivation of rank or

4) of disciplinary punishment by reduction of rank.

2. The restoration of rank is pronounced by the superior authorized to confer rank; the restoration of the rank of 2nd lieutenant is pronounced by the Minister of Internal Affairs; the rank of general is restored by the Council of State at the recommendation of the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Article 32. 1. A person accepted into service with the Citizen's Militia and holding military rank is appointed to a rank in the Citizen's Militia equal to the rank he held in the military.

2. When a person holding the military rank of 2nd lieutenant is accepted into the Citizen's Militia, the Minister of Internal Affairs appoints him the rank of 2nd lieutenant.

Article 33. The Minister of Internal Affairs establishes the general principles and procedure of assigned rank to functionaries.

Chapter 4. Duties of a Functionary

Article 34. 1. A functionary is obligated to faithfully serve the Polish People's Republic, defends its constitutional principles of government even at the risk of life and health and conscientiously execute the tasks set by the supreme organs of state authority and the government of the Polish People's Republic as well as those set by the resolutions of the central organs of the Polish United Worker's Party.

2. A functionary is obligated to uphold the law and be guided by a sense of special responsibility to protect state security and public order, public property and the lives, health and property of citizens.

3. A functionary is obligated to unconditionally uphold service discipline and conscientiously execute the orders and instructions of his superiors.

Article 35. 1. A functionary is obligated to keep secret all knowledge comprising state or service secrets.

2. The obligation to maintain secrecy applies both during service and after termination of service.

3. Relative to certain regulations, the Minister of Internal Affairs or an appointed superior can exempt a functionary from his duty to protect secrets.

Article 36. 1. The period of a functionary's fulfillment of service is defined by the measure of his duties with regard to his right to vacations.

2. The schedule of service is determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Article 37. 1. During his time of service, a functionary is obligated to wear a regulation uniform and carry regulation equipment.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs states cases in which a functionary is not obligated during the performance of his duties to wear a uniform as well as cases in which functionaries may wear uniforms once they are discharged from service.

Article 38. 1. Without the permission of his superior, a functionary may not take additional employment outside of service.

2. A functionary can publish his literary, journalistic and academic work. The publication of work connected with his service experience requires the permission of his superior.

Article 39. 1. A functionary is obligated to inform his superior of membership in national organizations or associations outside of his service.

2. Membership in foreign or international organizations or associations requires the permission of the Minister of Internal Affairs or an authorized superior.

Article 40. A functionary is obligated to obtain for himself, his spouse or children permission from the Minister of Internal Affairs or an authorized superior to travel and visit abroad. The Minister of Internal Affairs determines cases in which such permission is not required.

Article 41. 1. A functionary discharged from service on the basis of Article 16, Paragraph 1, Points 3-5 or Paragraph 2, Points 2 and 5 before 10 years have passed since the completion of studies in the Internal Affairs Academy or

in a higher school of the Ministry of Internal Affairs or 5 years after the completion of studies in another school of the Ministry of Internal Affairs or study in another school while the costs were covered by the Ministry of Internal Affairs is obligated to pay back a sum equal to the costs of sustenance and clothing received during the period of study.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs sets the costs described in Paragraph 1, the principle by which they are to be paid back and cases in a functionary is exempted from this provision.

Chapter 5. The Rights of a Functionary

Article 42. A functionary, while performing his service duties or other tasks entrusted to him, with regard to their character, enjoys legal protection as defined in separate regulations.

Article 43. 1. Functionaries may create functionary councils.

2. The task of a functionary council is to protect and represent before the directors of organizational units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs the professional and social interests of the functionaries creating these councils and to also encourage activities aimed at improving their living, social and cultural conditions.

3. The organization of a functionary council and the rights and duties of its members are defined by a charter adopted by the council and approved by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

4. The principles of cooperation of the functionary councils with the directors of organizational units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are defined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Article 44. A functionary who has, in connection with his service, suffered permanent loss of health or damage to his personal items receives compensation defined by separate regulations. If a functionary dies in the performance of his service, then his surviving family members receive compensation.

Article 45. 1. After 15 years of service, a functionary has the right to militia retirement.

2. A functionary who has become an invalid has the right to militia invalid retirement.

3. Family members surviving deceased functionaries have the right to a militia family pension.

4. The principles for the granting of benefits defined in Paragraphs 1-3 are set by regulations on retirement support for Citizen's Militia functionaries and their families.

Article 46. 1. A functionary receives free uniforms.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs determines:

1) the patterns, principles and method of wearing uniforms and militia badges as well as the principles and methods of wearing medals, awards and badges;

2) standards of uniform.

3. The amount and conditions for money granted in exchange for uniforms is determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs in agreement with the Minister of Finances.

4. If a functionary appointed to a period of training service is discharged from service, he must return his uniforms or its worth in money.

Article 47. Functionaries in certain organizational units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs receive special equipment. The principles used to dispense this equipment and the way in which it is to be used is determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Article 48. The Minister of Internal Affairs defines cases in which functionaries receive sustenance and the standards of sustenance. The cases in which money is dispensed for sustenance and the amounts are determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs in agreement with the Minister of Finances.

Article 49. 1. A functionary and the members of his family have the right to travel by state-owned means of transportation at the cost of the Ministry of Internal Affairs once each year to and from a location in Poland chosen by himself under conditions defined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

2. If a person entitled to this right does not make use of it, he is entitled to receive an equal value in a lump sum of money under conditions stated by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

3. The persons described in Paragraph 1 may also receive other social and living benefits, the type and extent of which are determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Article 50. A functionary and his spouse have the right to reduced fare on state-owned means of transportation according to conditions stated in orders of the Minister of Transportation in agreement with the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Article 51. 1. Functionaries and their family members have the right to free health benefits on principles defined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

2. Functionaries and their family members may also enjoy free medical benefits at public health service establishments to the extent and under the conditions stated by orders of the Minister of Health and Social Welfare and the Minister of Internal Affairs or medical benefits of other health service establishments under conditions stated by the Minister of Internal Affairs in agreement with interested ministers.

3. The benefits described in Paragraphs 1 and 2 are also given to persons with the right to retirement support under principles stated by the regulations on the retirement support of functionaries of the Citizen's Militia and their families.

Article 52. 1. A functionary who has earned the right to a militia pension because he became an invalid outside of the performance of his service and authorized members of his family as well as family members surviving a functionary whose death did not occur in the performance of his duties have the right to receive free medical benefits of establishments of public health services.

2. A functionary discharged from service who has not gained the right to retirement support as stated in the regulations on retirement support of a functionary of the Citizen's Militia and of their families and also the members of his family have the right to medical benefits at establishments of the public health service under conditions set for employees whose employment has been terminated.

Article 53. The wife and children forming his immediate family are considered to be the members of a functionary's family that have the right to benefits described in Articles 49, 51 and 52.

Article 54. The service period of a functionary is regarded as work of a particular character, according to the regulations on the retirement support of workers and their families.

Article 55. Female functionaries have the right to particular benefits as employees according to the regulations of labor law as long as they do not conflict with the present regulations.

Article 56. 1. For a functionary who has received employment within a year of the date of his discharge from service or three years from the date of discharge if he fulfilled training service, the service period is counted into the period of employment with regard to all rights granted under labor law.

2. The provision of Paragraph 1 is valid if the regulations of the labor law provide that the termination of the periods mentioned in Paragraph 1 do not pose an obstacle to the employee's right to certain benefits.

3. If a functionary cannot take other employment in the period defined in Paragraph 1 because of illness that prevents him from working or because he is an invalid, he does have the right mentioned in Paragraph 1 in the case of taking employment within three months of having become to ill or an invalid.

4. The regulations of Paragraphs 1 and 2 do not apply to functionaries discharged from service due to a valid court sentence or having been disciplined by removal from service or deprived of rank by an honor court.

Article 57. 1. Male functionaries less than 55 years old or female functionaries less than 50 years old that have been discharged from service

and do not fall within one of the invalid groups are recommended for employment in a state-owned place of work.

2. The chairman of the Council of Ministers defines the principles and procedures used to send discharged functionaries to other employment and the competence of organs involved in these cases.

Article 58. The Minister of Internal Affairs determines the method in which is to be performed as well as the particular rights and duties of functionaries.

Chapter 6. Functionary Vacations

Article 59. 1. A functionary has the right to a 30 days of annual vacation.

2. A functionary gains the right to his first vacation after one year of service.

Article 60. 1. For important service reasons, a functionary's vacation can be cancelled or withheld in part or full. If a functionary has important reasons, he can ask that the date of his vacation be changed.

2. A functionary whose vacation has been cancelled has the right to recover travel costs incurred due to the cancellation of his vacation according to norms established in regulations on service charges in cases of transfer or delegation as well as other costs determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

3. The cancellations of a functionary's vacation for service reasons requires the agreement of his superior.

4. A functionary who has not used his vacation leave in a given calendar year must take it within the first three months of the next year.

Article 61. The Minister of Internal Affairs may introduce up to 15 days of additional paid vacations each year for functionaries that have served under particularly difficult or harmful conditions or have achieved a certain age or level of service or if this is justified by particular characteristics of service.

Article 62. A functionary holding the position of teacher or academic instructor in schools of the Ministry of Internal Affairs receives an additional 12 days of paid vacation per year.

Article 63. A functionary may take a paid vacation for health or circumstantial reasons and an unpaid vacation for important reasons.

Article 64. The Minister of Internal Affairs defines the particular principles for giving functionaries vacations, the procedure used in these cases as well as the amount of time according to Articles 61 and 63.

Chapter 7. Distinctions and Responsibility for Discipline

Article 65. A functionary who has performed his duties in an exemplary manner, shown initiative and improved his professional qualifications may receive distinctions;

- 1) praise
- 2) praise in a special order,
- 3) monetary or spoken award,
- 4) short vacation,
- 5) ministerial badges of honor,
- 6) presentation of a state decoration,
- 7) early advancement to a higher rank,
- 8) advancement to a higher rank,
- 9) Entry to the Honorary Book of Meritorious Functionaries of the Security Service and the Citizen's Militia, Soldiers and Internal Affairs Employees.

Article 66. A functionary bears disciplinary responsibility for violations of service discipline or other violations defined by law.

Article 68. 1. A functionary can receive disciplinary punishment in the form of:

- 1) admonition,
- 2) reprimand,
- 3) severe reprimand,
- 4) reprimand with warning,
- 5) warning of unfitness for service in the position held,
- 6) demotion to a lower service position,
- 7) demotion if rank by one or two grades in the given corps,
- 8) warning of unfitness for service,
- 9) removal from service.

2. Regardless of the punishments mentioned in Paragraph 1, a functionary may also be forbidden to operate a motor vehicle for a period of from 6 months to three years. This punishment is only applied in cases of traffic law violations that are subject to pronouncement by a violations collegium for which the law prescribes such a penalty.

3. In relation to a functionary in candidate service, aside from the penalties mentioned in Paragraph 1, the following penalties may also be applied:

- 1) fatigue duty out of turn,
- 2) prohibition on leaving the place of residence,
- 3) as much as 14 days of confinement.

The time spent in confinement is not counted as part of service time.

4. In justifiable cases, demotion to a lower position or removal from service can be combined with demotion in rank. In cases of traffic violations, this can be combined with a prohibition on operating motor vehicles.

Article 69. 1. In accordance with Article 73, a disciplinary action cannot be taken any later than 90 days after a superior receives information on the committing of an offense or violation of service discipline.

2. A functionary cannot be punished any later than two years from the date that he committed an act defined in Paragraph 1.

3. In the case of an act prohibited by criminal law, a functionary cannot be punished once the statute of limitations for the act expires.

Article 70. 1. For offenses subject to the regulations of the Codex of Proceedings on Offenses, the functionary bears disciplinary responsibility unless subsequent regulations state otherwise.

2. Organs established to pronounce on violations as well as other interested organs or institutions send their recommendation for punishment of a functionary to the authorized organ of the Ministry of Internal Affairs or to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

3. For violations, for which the regulations of the Codex of Procedure in Cases of Violation or other particular regulations state that the organs authorized by these regulations can apply fines by way of a ticket, the functionaries are subject to responsibility in a ticket proceedings. These organs administer to the functionary a fine to be paid as a ticket.

4. If a fine is not paid or paid on time, the competent organ recommends that the proper organ of the the Ministry of Internal Affairs or to the Minister of Internal Affairs punish the functionary.

Article 71. In cases defined in Article 70, disciplinary punishment cannot be applied after the period of the statute of limitations in the Codex of Violations expires for the given violation.

Article 72. 1. For acts for which regulations authorize respective organs to apply fatigue penalties, the functionaries bear exclusive disciplinary responsibility.

2. Functionaries in cases in which the respective organs are authorized to levy a fine as a means of compulsion are also subject to disciplinary responsibility.

3. The organs named in Paragraphs 1 and 2 are authorized to bring a functionary to disciplinary responsibility before the competent organ of the Ministry of Internal Affairs or the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Article 73. 1. Superiors authorized by the Minister of Internal Affairs are competent to confer distinctions or administer disciplinary punishment.

2. The particular principles and procedures used to confer distinctions or administer disciplinary punishment as well as to cancel punishments as well as the competence of superiors in these cases are determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Chapter 8. Honor Courts and the Principles of the Responsibility of a Functionary Before the Court of Honor.

Article 74. 1. Honor courts have jurisdiction in cases of violation of the honor and dignity of a functionary, and functionary behavior which is objectionable and contrary to principles of socialist coexistence.

2. Honor courts also have jurisdiction in cases of violation of service discipline if the act committed by the functionary has the characteristics of an act described in Paragraph 1 and the competent superior sends a recommendation on this matter to the honor court.

3. Honor courts rule on the strength of their convictions as based on free evaluation of evidence, guided by the principles of socialist morality, honor and the dignity of a functionary as well as by the regulations of law.

4. The members of the honor court are responsible only to themselves in their pronouncements.

5. The members of the honor court are elected.

Article 75. 1. Honor courts initiate proceedings:

- 1) on the recommendation of a competent superior,
- 2) on the recommendation of a functionary council,
- 3) on their own initiative or on that of a group of functionaries,
- 4) on the recommendation of a functionary or persons harmed by an act under the jurisdiction of the honor court.

2. Honor court proceedings cannot be initiated if more than one year elapses from the date of the perpetration of an act subject to the jurisdiction of that court.

Article 76. 1. If the honor court does not concede the guilt of an accused functionary, it rules his innocence.

2. If the functionary is found to be guilty as charged, the honor court rules his guilt and applies educational measures such as:

- 1) warnings,
- 2) ordering the functionary to apologize to the person harmed,
- 3) ordering the functionary to amend for the harm he has caused,
- 4) recommends political or social organization to revoke social functions.

3. If, in the opinion of the honor court, the educational measures mentioned in Paragraph 2 are not strong enough for the weight of the offense, the court

rules the guilt of the functionary and recommends to the responsible superior that disciplinary punishment be administered.

4. In particularly justified cases, the honor court can recommend:

- 1) the withholding of advancement in rank,
- 2) the withholding of any ministerial or state decoration,
- 3) loss of rank,
- 4) removal from the Honorary Book of Meritorious Functionaries of the Security Service and the Citizen's Militia, Soldiers and Internal Affairs Employees.

5. The honor court may inform the functionary of the content of its ruling.

Article 77. 1. The Minister of Internal Affairs supervises the work of honor courts. The Minister of Internal Affairs reviews appeals to honor court rulings.

2. The minister's supervision in Paragraph 1 may not violate the independence of the members of the court.

Article 78. The particular organization of the honor courts, their composition, method of member selection, competence and principles of methods of procedure in reviewing and ruling as well as the extent and method of supervision over honor courts and cooperation between these courts and the political education service are all defined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Article 79. If a functionary commits an act that subjects him to disciplinary responsibility and responsibility to an honor court, the Minister of Internal Affairs or a superior authorized by him must decide which form of responsibility is valid in the given case.

Chapter 9. Housing for Functionaries and Their Related Obligations

Article 80. 1. A functionary in permanent service has the right to living space in the community or near the community in which he serves. The housing allotment should make allowances for the size of his family and their rights with regard to certain regulations.

2. A functionary in training service may receive temporary housing.

Article 81. The members of a functionary's family that are considered in the housing allotment are those that live in the same household and this includes:

- 1) wife,

2) children (his own, adopted children or those for which he acts as legal guardian) under his care up to 25 years of age,

3) the parents of the functionary and his wife that are being supported by him due to age or infirmity or who are for other reasons unable to work. Parents are also considered to be the stepfather or stepmother.

Article 82. 1. Living space at the disposition of the Minister of Internal Affairs or ministry organs and gained through investment, acquired from regional government or places of employment and apartments vacated by other functionaries are to be used to house functionaries.

2. Housing cooperatives can also be designated as housing for a functionary.

Article 83. 1. A functionary receives an equal amount of money for housing repair costs with consideration of the number of family members and their rights according to separate regulations.

2. The specific principles for payment of the sum mentioned in Paragraph 1 as well as the amount are determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Finance Minister.

Article 84. 1. The functionary receives an equal compensation for housing costs if he himself or the members of his family do not have housing in or near his place of service.

2. The specific principles for payment of the sum mentioned in Paragraph 1 as well as the amount are determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Finance Minister.

Article 85. A functionary who has housing near his place of service is compensated for the cost of tickets for travel by trains or State Automobile Transportation Enterprise buses to and from his place of service.

Article 86. 1. A functionary who has not received living space by an administrative decision on housing allotment has the right to financial aid from a housing fund in order to obtain housing in a housing cooperative, a one-family dwelling or living space that constitutes separate real estate.

2. The Council of Ministers defines the principles used to grant the financial aid described in Paragraph 1 and the amount of that aid.

Article 87. Living space is not allotted by administrative decision to a functionary:

1) if he has received financial aid from a housing fund,

2) if he owns a home in or near the community in which he serves that at least meets his living area requirements or if he owns a single-family dwelling or has a room in a boarding house.

- 3) if his spouse owns a local home of dwelling described in Point 2,
- 4) if he or his spouse dispose of their property rights to a cooperative apartment which constitutes a separate estate or a home as described in Point 2, with the exception of cases defined by Article 88, Paragraph 3.

Article 88. 1. A functionary who has been transferred to another community and had a dwelling, single-family house or pension dwelling in his previous community may be allotted local housing in his new place of service if:

- 1) he has vacated his residence or house,
- 2) has returned any financial aid received,
 - a) for housing or construction contributions, at an amount set by the cooperative,
 - b) for payment of any compensation in the amount received.

2. A functionary who has received financial aid from a housing fund may receive living space by administrative decision if he has vacated his local dwelling or house according to Paragraph 1 or returned the financial aid on principles defined in this regulation.

3. The procedure used to allot living space in the cases described in Paragraphs 1 and 2, the particular principles for returning financial aid and the principles for vacating local housing or houses according to Paragraph 1 are defined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

4. A functionary who is transferred to service in another community and has not vacated his dwelling in his former place of residence according to Paragraph 1 may receive temporary quarters according to his living needs but with no allowance for the family members that will share it with him.

5. A functionary delegated to temporary service in another community receives temporary quarters. The cost of these quarters is paid by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Article 89. Regional organs of government should provide local housing for functionaries serving in their area.

Article 90. 1. The Minister of Internal Affairs, in agreement with the Minister of Administration and Territorial Management, defines the specific principles for housing allotment and vacating as well as the norms on the number of people allowed in local housing according to Article 82, Paragraph and the specific principles for allotment and vacating of temporary quarters.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs and Minister of Administration and Territorial Management determine the size of rent for local housing administered by organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs as well as the principles for reimbursing the difference in rent payments for other living quarters that the functionary is obligated to rent.

3. Additional norms for inhabitation defined on the basis of Paragraph 1 and associated with the service position or rank held also apply in allotments to the functionary of housing other than that mentioned in Article 82, Paragraph 1.

Article 91. A functionary discharged from service who does not have the right to local housing according to the regulations on retirement support for Citizen's Militia functionaries and their families maintains the right to allotted housing according to common norms or may be moved to spare housing.

Chapter 10. Functionary Salaries

Article 92. 1. The right to draw a salary comes into effect on the day that a functionary is appointed to service.

2. For his service, a functionary receives a salary and other monetary benefits stated by law and tax free.

3. A functionary's salary increases in increments no less than the average pay of workers in state-owned industry.

4. Each year, the Council of Ministers establishes the amount of funds available for pay raises for functionaries.

Article 93. A functionary's salary consists of his base pay and allowances.

Article 94. 1. The Council of Ministers determines the base pay for typical service positions as well as allowances for years in service.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs establishes the average rates of base pay for nontypical positions, within the rates established for typical positions by the Council of Ministers.

Article 95. The Minister of Internal Affairs defines the principles and methods used to calculate service periods for having served a full term of years which is used to calculate allowances to base pay.

Article 96. 1. A functionary transferred to a service position downgraded to a lower pay group maintains the right to the rate of pay taken in the previously held position until he attains the higher rate according to his service position.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs can in especially justified cases permit a functionary transferred to a service position in a downgraded wage rate group to maintain the right to be downgraded to his previously held position and maintain the rank he held in that position.

3. The regulations of Paragraph 1 do not apply to a functionary transferred to a lower position on the basis of Article 13, Paragraph 1 or Paragraph 2, Points 2 and 3 or to functionaries transferred at their own request.

Article 97. 1. Functionaries receive the following additions to their pay:

- 1) allowance for rank,
- 2) service allowance,
- 3) allowances justified by particular circumstances, qualifications, conditions or place of service,
- 4) family bonus.

2. Fixed pay allowances are those that are established in monthly rates.

3. The specific principles of the pay allowances in Paragraph 1 and their amount are determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs in agreement with the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs.

Article 98. The base pay and fixed allowances are payable monthly from the top. The Minister of Internal Affairs can determine which permanent allowances are payable from the bottom.

Article 99. 1. Changes in pay take place at the time that the circumstances justifying the change come into being.

2. If the right to pay came into being or a change in pay occurred within one month, the pay for the period of time until the end of the month is counted at the rate of 1/30 of the monthly pay for every day unless specific regulations state otherwise.

3. The right to a salary expires on the last day of the month in which the functionary is discharged from service or other justifying circumstances have come into being.

Article 100. 1. Any claims to salary or other benefits expire three years from the date on which the claim could have been made.

2. The organ competent to review claims for salary may disregard the claim's expiration if the delay in making the claim is justified by unusual circumstances.

3. The course of expiration of claims on salary or other benefits or monetary compensation is interrupted:

- 1) by every act before the director of an organizational unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs who is competent to review claims which is taken for the direct purpose of investigating or establishing or satisfying a claim

- 2) recognition of the claim.

Chapter 11. Other Monetary Benefits

Article 101. 1. Functionaries have the right to the following monetary benefits:

- 1) household subsidy,
- 2) remunerations or reliefs,
- 3) anniversary awards,
- 4) additional pay for the performance of tasks that go beyond service duties,
- 5) compensation for service travel and transfers,
- 6) benefits connected with termination of service.

2. In case of death of a functionary or a member of his family, the following are granted:

- 1) funeral subsidy,
- 2) death pay.

Article 102. A functionary, in connection with his permanent appointment, receives a household subsidy in the amount of one month's base pay with the fixed allowances owed on the date of his permanent appointment.

Article 103. 1. A functionary can receive remuneration and reliefs in amounts and under conditions determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

2. The amount of the fund for remuneration and reliefs for functionaries is determined by the Council of Ministers.

Article 104. A functionary receives anniversary pay for many years of service on principles set by the Council of Ministers.

Article 105. 1. For the performance of tasks beyond his service duties, a functionary can receive extra pay under conditions defined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

2. Payment for inventions or technical improvements by the functionary are covered by separate regulations.

Article 106. In a functionary is transferred to service in another location or temporarily delegated elsewhere, he receives compensation for service-related travel and transfer in amounts and under conditions determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs.

Article 107. 1. A functionary discharged from service on the basis of Article 13, Paragraph 4 and Article 16, Paragraph 1, Points 1 and 2 and Paragraph 2, Points 1 and 3-6 receives:

- 1) severance pay,
- 2) the monetary equivalent of the present year's unused vacation time,
- 3) a lump sum of money equal to the year's unused travel allowance,
- 4) refund on the cost of travel to a chosen place of residence for oneself, spouse and children as well as a refund of the costs for transportation of household goods.

2. A functionary discharged on the basis of Article 16, Paragraph 1, Points 3 and 4 receives 50-percent severance pay or its equivalent in cash for vacation time unused in the years preceding the year of discharge.

3. The Minister of Internal Affairs or a superior authorized by him can in special cases of justifiable need give the family of a functionary severance pay not exceeding 50 percent and discharge him from service on the basis of Article 16, Paragraph 1, Point 5 and Paragraph 2, Point 2.

Article 108. 1. The amount of severance pay for a functionary in permanent service is equal to three months of his wages plus fixed allowances for the last position held. Severance pay is increased by 20 percent of the base pay along with the allowances for every full year of service above 5 years of uninterrupted service to as much as 6 months of base pay with permanent allowances. A period of service exceeding 6 months is counted as a full year.

2. In establishing the amount of severance pay, the periods of uninterrupted professional military service are also considered if immediately after discharge the soldier entered the Security Service or the Citizen's Militia and did not receive severance pay from the previous service.

3. Paragraph 2 applies in cases of entry to the Security Service or the Citizen's Militia immediately after discharge from other services in which he receives this sort of benefit.

4. The amount of the severance pay for a functionary in training service is equal to that of one month's base pay plus fixed allowances for the last held service position.

Article 109. 1. In the case of a functionary's death, his surviving family receive death pay in an amount approximating the deceased's severance pay had he been discharged and the benefits stated in Article 107, Paragraph 1, Points 2-4.

2. The benefits described in Paragraph 1 go to the spouse of the functionary and then to the children or parents if on the day of death the functionary had fulfilled the conditions for a family pension on the basis of regulations on retirement support.

3. The regulations of Paragraphs 1 and 2 also apply in the case of missing functionaries. The Minister of Internal Affairs determines when a functionary is missing.

Article 110. 1. A functionary in permanent service and discharged according to Article 16, Paragraph 1, Point 1 and Paragraph 2, Point 4 is paid every month for a year after discharge cash benefits in an amount corresponding to his base pay plus fixed allowances taken in the last position held with the exception of the family bonus which is paid on principles determined for the functionary.

2. A functionary authorized to receive the benefit described in Paragraph 1 and has earned the right to retirement support, may choose from one of these benefits.

Article 111. The severance pay described in Article 107 and the benefits defined in Article 110 cannot be claimed by a functionary who immediately after discharge from service has entered professional military service or any other service in which he is entitled to the same benefits.

Article 112. 1. In the case of the death of a functionary, aside from the death pay described in Article 109, a funeral subsidy is given in amounts of:

1) three months of base pay with fixed allowances for the last position held if the costs of the funeral are paid by the spouse, children, grandchildren, siblings or parents,

2) the actual costs incurred but higher than those described in Point 1 if the costs are paid by some other person.

2. If the functionary's cause of death is related to his service, the funeral costs are paid by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Minister of Internal Affairs may agree to cover funeral costs in the case of death by service-related illness.

3. If the Ministry of Internal Affairs pays the funeral costs, the persons described in Paragraph 1, Point 1 receive half of the funeral subsidy.

Article 113. 1. If a member of a functionary's family dies, the functionary receives a funeral subsidy in the amount of:

1) two month's base pay with fixed allowances for the position last held, if the funeral costs are paid by the functionary,

2) of the actual costs paid but higher to a value defined in Point 1, if the costs of the funeral are paid by some other person.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs sets the conditions for the payment of a functionary's funeral costs from ministry funds and also states which family members receive the funeral subsidy.

3. If the right to the funeral subsidy described in Paragraph 1 coincides with the rights to a funeral subsidy on the basis of separate regulations, the functionary takes the higher subsidy and if he chose the lower he receives the corresponding remuneration.

Article 114. 1. In the case of illness, vacation, discharge from service activities in a period in which he has not been allotted any service, the functionary receives his base pay, fixed allowances and other cash compensation for the position last held with regard to recent changes that might influence the right to wages and other monetary compensations or their amount.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs may limit in part or full payment of some allowances to wages during illness, circumstantial leave or the functionary's being left without any service allotment.

Article 115. 1. A functionary sent to a school for retraining or for studies within Poland receives his salary and other monetary compensation in amounts and under conditions defined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

2. The Minister of Internal Affairs can in agreement with the Finance Minister determine the amount and conditions salary payments and other monetary compensation of the functionary sent to academies or other schools (course) abroad.

Article 116. 1. If the functionary takes the wages called for in regulations on the earnings of persons holding management positions within the state, the functionary or the members of his family can receive benefits and monetary compensations from service as defined in the present law with the exception of the compensations described in Article 48.

Chapter 12. Suspension or Deduction of Salary and Other Monetary Benefits

Article 117. 1. A functionary who has been suspended from service activities has 50 percent of the wages last earned suspended, with the exception of the family bonus.

2. In the duty suspension is removed, the functionary receives the suspended portion of his wages as well as obligatory raises introduced during the suspension period unless he is discharged due to a valid court sentence or is removed from service.

Article 118. If a functionary becomes temporarily arrested, 50 percent of his most recent pay with the exception of the family bonus is deducted from his next payment.

2. If criminal proceedings are dismissed or a functionary is acquitted by a valid court ruling, he receives the suspended portion of his pay as well as obligatory raises introduced during the period of suspension even if the dismissal of proceedings or acquittal occurred after his discharge, with the exception of Paragraph 3.

3. The regulations of Paragraph 2 do not apply in cases in which proceedings have been dismissed due to the statute of limitations or amnesty as well as any conditional dismissal of proceedings.

Article 119. 1. A functionary who has voluntarily left his place of service, remained away or has not carried out service is suspended from pay in the next pay period. If the functionary has already received pay for a period of unjustified absence, the appropriate part of his pay is deducted from the next payment of salary.

2. If the absence from service is recognized as justified, the functionary receives the suspended pay. If the absence is found to be unjustified, the functionary loses for each day of absence 1/30 of his monthly pay.

3. The provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 2 also apply in cases of inexcusable inability of the functionary to fulfill his service duties.

4. A functionary who begins unpaid vacation during the calendar month receives 1/30 of his monthly pay for each day of that month he has served prior to beginning his unpaid vacation. If the functionary has already taken pay for the time of his unpaid vacation, an appropriate part of his next month's pay is deducted.

Article 120. 1. Functionary wages can be deducted on the basis of court and administrative executive claims or specific regulations based on the provisions for execution of a court ruling or execution procedure in administration or in other particular regulations if subsequent regulations of the present law do not state otherwise.

2. The pay mentioned in Paragraph 1 is understood as meaning the base pay, allowances, the severance pay in Article 107 and the benefits described in Articles 105 and 110. No deductions are made from the family allowance.

3. The family allowance over and above the amount of alimony is paid to these persons but is not part of the pay computed to establish the amount of alimony.

4. The Minister of Internal Affairs names the organizational units competent to make deductions from pay and determines the procedure to be used.

Article 121. The provisions of Article 120, Paragraphs 1-3 do not apply to advances taken before settlement and especially to costs of service-related travel, delegation and transfer expenses. These compensations are deducted in their full amount from pay, regardless of any other deductions.

Chapter 13. The Service of Conscripts in Armed Formations, the Performance of Service and the Holding of Exercises in Organizational Units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Article 122. 1. A military conscript who, according to the provisions of the law on the common duty to defend the Polish People's Republic, serves in an armed formation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, is, during the duration of this period of service, a functionary of the Citizen's Militia in candidate training and is henceforth referred to as "functionary in candidate service".

2. A functionary in candidate service enjoys the rights of a functionary of the Citizen's Militia in the tasks he performs.

3. Due to the services they perform, functionaries in candidate service are subject to the rights and duties of a functionary in training service with the exception of rights described in Article 80, Paragraph 2 and Article 108, Paragraph 4.

4. A functionary in candidate service serves in a regimented system or in a unit or subunit of the Citizen's Militia.

Article 123. The regulations on distinctions and disciplinary responsibility in Chapter 7 of this law and the regulations on a functionary's material responsibility for damage to property of the ministry apply to a functionary in candidate service.

Article 124. 1. Persons who, in accordance with the regulations of the law on the duty to defend the Polish People's Republic, serve or take part in exercises in organizational units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the basis of their allotment to units planned for militarization and to already militarized units are in the performance of their tasks entitled to the rights of a functionary of the Citizen's Militia.

2. The extent of rights and duties of persons described in Paragraph 1 serving or holding exercises in organizational units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are defined by separate regulations.

Chapter 14. Changes in the Existing Regulations and Temporary and Final Regulations.

Article 125. In the 31 January 1959 law on retirement support of functionaries of the Citizen's Militia and their families (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1983, No 46, Position 210 and 1985, No 20, Position 85), the following changes are made:

1) the present content of Article 8 is designated as Paragraph 1 and there is added Paragraph 2 which reads:

"2. In particularly justified cases, with a functionary with at least 5 years of uninterrupted service, the Minister of Internal Affairs can count the time already served in organizational units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs or in instances of the Polish United Workers Party as part of service time toward retirement if these periods amount to at least 15 years."

2) in Article 12, Paragraph 1, following the expressions "removal from service", there is added the expressions "or due to loss of Citizen's Militia rank at the recommendation of the honor court",

3) in Article 44, the expression "service housing" is replaced with "living space".

Article 126. In the 16 December 1972 law on recompensation for accidents or illness related to service in the Citizen's Militia (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 53, Position 345, 1983, No 16, Position 79 and 1985, No 20, Position 85), the present meaning of Article 10 is designated as Paragraph 1 to which is added Paragraph 2 which reads:

"2. A functionary who has in connection with service damaged his items of personal use while not becoming injured receives compensation for the lost, destroyed or damaged objects under conditions determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs in agreement with the Finance Minister".

Article 127. In the 21 May 1963 law on military discipline and the responsibility of soldiers for discipline offenses and violation of the honor and dignity of soldiers (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1977, No 23, Position 101), In Article 14 to Paragraph 1 there is added Paragraph 1a which reads:

"1a. Regardless of the punishments mentioned in Paragraph 1, there may also be added the penalty of prohibiting the operation of motor vehicles for a period of 6 months to three years. This penalty is applied only for violation of traffic laws for which other provisions call for such punishment".

Article 128. The ranks of non-commissioned officers, warrant officers and officers of the Citizen's Militia discharged from service in the Citizen's Militia before 1 January 1973 are perpetual.

Article 129. Functionaries or members of their families receiving the benefits defined in the 31 January 1959 law on the service of a functionary of the Citizen's Militia that are not included within the present law still maintain the right to the benefits of the former law.

Article 130. 1. The 31 January 1959 law on the service of functionaries of the Citizen's Militia (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1973, No 23, Position 136, 1974, No 44, Position 264 and 1983, No 16, Position 79 and No 38, Position 172) is no longer valid.

2. In cases of a functionary's service relationship that were initiated before the present law comes into force, the provisions of the former law are valid.

3. Until the executive regulations of this law are published, the former provisions remain in force if they do not conflict the provisions of the present law.

Article 131. This law goes into effect on 1 January 1986.

Chairman of the Council of State: H. Jablonski
Secretary of the Council of State: J. Szymanek

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CSO: 2600/8

POLAND

PARTY ACTIVITIES CALENDARS

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[Text] Meetings of the Central Committee Politburo

6 August. The Politburo:

-- examined a draft of subjects to be discussed at the 22nd plenary meeting of the Central Committee. The plenum will evaluate the state of education and higher learning in Poland, determine directions to be taken to improve national education and discuss the necessary conditions for carrying out such improvements;

-- read a report on the realization of the 17th Central Committee Plenum's resolution;

-- assessed the realization of a program of ceremonies to honor the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, the return of the western and northern territories to the motherland and the end of World War II;

-- in conjunction with the chairmen of youth organizations, discussed the part to be taken by a Polish delegation in the 12th World Festival and Youth and Students in Moscow;

-- received a report from the first meeting of the joint commission of the PZPR and Bulgarian Communist Party and recommended that the PZPR work to realize the recommendations of that report.

13 August. The Politburo:

-- examined the present course of harvests and current problems in agriculture;

-- emphasized the importance of the widespread public discussion that has started before the coming Sejm elections;

-- examined information on the implementation of its April decrees on realization of the 9th Central Committee Plenum's resolutions on youth affairs;

-- received information on the course of summer vacations for children and youth.

Meetings and Conferences

9 August. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek received a visit from Boris Averchenko, a member of the collegium of the CPSU Central Committee press organ PRAVDA and director of that paper's department of socialist countries. Wieslaw Bek, editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU also took part in this meeting.

Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak met with the press attaches from the embassies of the socialist countries as well as their accredited press, radio and television correspondents. The subject of this meeting was the proceedings and results of the 21st Central Committee Plenum and the party's role and tasks during the upcoming Sejm elections campaign.

12 August. Politburo member Albin Siwak and Div Gen Wacław Czyzewski, chairman of the Committee to Build the Monument "To Those Fallen in the Service and Defense of People's Poland", presented a statuette of the monument to the neighborhood PZPR committee for Warsaw/Railway Junction. This statuette honors the particular contribution made by Warsaw railway workers to the building of the monument.

14 August. First Secretary of the Central Committee and leader of the Polish Armed Forces Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski took part in a meeting of the Warsaw First Mechanized Division's basic party organization of which he is a member. During this meeting, Jaruzelski discussed the present international and domestic situation and the coming tasks of the army's party members and organizations.

Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski meet with Central Committee lecturers to discuss the political and propaganda goals and tasks during the Sejm elections campaigns. Bogdan Jachacz, director of the Central Committee's Department of press, Radio and Television, also took part in this meeting.

15 August. First Secretary of the Central Committee, premier Wojciech Jaruzelski visited Elblag province. Accompanied by Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek and Vice-Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry Kazimierz Grzesiak, he visited the Agromet Agricultural Machinery Factory in Malbork and the Agromy Base. He also became acquainted with the course of harvests and the work of institutions working to support agriculture. W. Jaruzelski paid a visit to soldiers working to strengthen dikes and was a guest of the local boy scout organizations.

A conference of the agricultural secretaries of provincial PZPR committees was held. The subject of this conference was the directions to be taken by party work in rural areas and the situation with agricultural production, especially the current harvests. This conference was conducted by the director of the Central Committee Department of Agricultural and Food Industry, Stefan Zawodzinski.

16 August. There was a conference of the propaganda secretaries of provincial PZPR committees and the editors of the leading provincial weeklies. The subject of this conference was tasks of political work and special emphasis was given to the Sejm elections campaign. The conference was led by Deputy Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk and Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski also took part.

18 August. Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon met at Augustow-Borki with participants to the "Osak-85" camp meeting of the cultural aktiv of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth.

Party Instances and Organizations

5 August. Plenary meetings of the provincial PZPR committees were held to discuss the tasks of party members during the Sejm elections campaign. Participating in these meetings were representatives of the party leadership and the party's deputies to the 8th Sejm. Lists of the PZPR's recommended deputy candidates were presented at the meetings.

The Warsaw Municipal PZPR Committee assessed the present state of preparations for Sejm elections, adopted a list of proposed PZPR deputy candidates and issued an appeal on the elections. The meeting was led by Politburo member and First Secretary of the Warsaw Committee Marian Wozniak and Politburo member Albin Siwak was also present.

The Lodz Municipal PZPR Committee discussed the realization of the law on the system of people's councils and regional government. The meeting was led by Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Lodz Committee Tadeusz Czechowicz.

The Krakow Municipal PZPR Committee discussed the problems of the coming Sejm, elections in the presence of Politburo Member Hieronim Kubiak and Secretary General of the PRON National Council Jerzy Jaskiernia.

The Bialystok Provincial PZPR Committee discussed the upcoming Sejm elections as the role that party education takes in the public school system. Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski took part in this meeting.

The Opole Provincial PZPR Committee evaluated the activity of party organizations with regard to the coming Sejm elections and the preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress. Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek took part in this meeting.

The Bydgoszcz Provincial PZPR Committee discussed the role and tasks of the intelligentsia in youth education and the teaching of social attitudes and awareness.

The Zamosc Provincial PZPR Committee assessed the state of realization of recommendations made during the party reports and elections campaign.

The Radom Provincial PZPR Committee evaluated the work of party instances and primary organizations in strengthening and increased activity within rural communities.

The Chelm, Torun, Wloclawek and Zielona Gora provincial PZPR committees discussed the tasks of party instances and organizations in the realization of the Central Committee 20th Plenum's resolutions.

The Lublin, Lomza, Kielce, Krosno, Ostroleka, Pila, Przemysl, Rzeszow, Suwalki and Tarnow provincial PZPR committees discussed problems connected with the Sejm elections campaign.

6 August. Plenary meetings of the latest provincial committees were dedicated to the Sejm electoral campaigns and the tasks that party members and organizations must perform during these campaigns.

The Gdansk Provincial PZPR Committee concentrated its attention on defining tasks to realize the resolutions of the 20th and 21st Central Committee Plenums.

The Wroclaw Provincial PZPR Committee defined the most important tasks to be implemented in encouraging the province's economic and social growth in 1986-1990.

The Siedlce, Koszalin, Szczecin, Legnica, Walbrzych, Gorzow Wielkopolski, Biala Podlaska, Ciechanow, Piotrkow Trybunalski, Slupsk, Jelenia Gora, Bielsko-Biala, Czestochowa, Kalisz, Elblag, Olsztyn and Konin provincial PZPR committees defined tasks for party organizations and members during the upcoming Sejm electoral campaigns.

7 August. The tasks of party instances and members were discussed at plenary meetings of provincial PZPR committees. Aside from elections problems, there was also some talk about the possibility of increasing the efficiency of political and organizational activities of the provincial party organizations after the 20th Central Committee Plenum.

The Katowice Provincial PZPR Committee pointed out the need to provide maximum help and support for PRON cells and to demask the slogans and goals of our political opposition. Politburo Member Jerzy Romanik took part in this meeting.

Aside from elections problems, the Poznan Provincial PZPR Committee discussed tasks to increase the efficiency of its political and organizational activities after the 20th Plenum.

The Nowy Sacz, Skierniewice, Sieradz and Tarnobrzeg provincial PZPR committees concentrated their attention on the tasks of party members during the coming Sejm elections.

Miklos Ovari, secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee and Politburo member, visited the Gdansk seacoast region. Our Hungarian guest was accompanied by representatives of the Gdansk provincial government and party organizations on his visit to Gdansk and Gdynia.

8 August. Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski became acquainted with the Plock Provincial PZPR Committee's work to prepare the region's party organization for the Sejm elections and with that province's realization of social and economic tasks. H. Bednarski also visited the Mazowsze Refinery and Petrochemical Works and the Harvest Machinery Factory where he learned about their production problems and the social conditions of their workers.

9 August. Deputy Politburo Member and Presidium member of the PRON National Council Marian Orzechowski met with the PRON aktiv and representatives of work establishments and youth and social organizations in Bialystok. M. Orzechowski also met with the presidiums of the Bialystok provincial and municipal PRON councils and the PRON aktiv of Bielsk Podlaski.

Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek and the director of the Central Committee Agricultural Department, Stefan Zawodzinski, learned about the newest achievements of the Institute of Plant Cultivation and Acclimatization in Radzikow near Warsaw.

10 August. Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski took part in a meeting of the worker's council at the Furniture Accessories Factory at Chelm in Torun province. H. Bednarski also visited the Chelm City Library where he met with employees of the regions's courts and investigative organs.

13 August. Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek met a group of 170 boy scouts working at the Hortex plant at Przysusza in Radom province.

Calendar 19 Aug - 1 Sep 85

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 11 Sep 85 p 21

[Text] Meetings of the Central Committee Politburo

27 August. The Politburo:

-- learned about the chief problems of growth and the activity of the union movement as well as the preliminary results of work on the idea of a public agreement. It also emphasized the great importance of social and economic plans as a basis for working out the concepts for such an agreement;

-- assessed the execution of last September's recommendations on improving the working and health conditions of workers. It also learned about the execution of last year's recommendations for social and existential activities in places of employment;

-- was informed about the conclusion of work to update the law on social and housing funds at places of employment. The changes call for increases in such funds.

The Politburo recognized the need for comprehensive evaluation of this year's vacations for workers, their birthdays, increased tourism and examination of their recommendations on these matters.

Conferences and Meetings

19 August. Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Warsaw Municipal PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak took part in a pre-elections consultative meetings at the Warsaw K. Swierczewski Precision Products.

At the headquarters of the Central Committee, there was a conference of editors-in-chief of the central press, agencies, radio and television as well as regional journalists, radio announcers and television stations. The meeting was dedicated to discussion of the current tasks of the mass media. Participating in this meeting were: Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk, Central Committee department directors Bogdan Jachacz and Jerzy Majka and deputy department directors Witold Gadomski, Edward Kuczera and Czeslaw Rowinski.

20 August. On the occasion of his 60th birthday, the famous activist, columnist and deputy chief editor of NOWE DROGI, Ludwik Krasucki, was awarded the [blank space] class Standard of Labor medal. The medal was presented by Deputy Politburo member Jan Glowczyk during a meeting with the staff of NOWE DROGI.

21 August. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski took part in an open meeting of the PZPR primary party organization at TRYBUNA LUDU. The meeting was dedicated to the present phase of the Sejm elections campaign.

28 August. The Central Committee Commission on Representative and Self-Management Organs learned about the course of conferences and consultative meetings of voters and candidates running for seats as Sejm deputies. The conference was conducted by Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak.

Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk received a visit from the Hungarian government press spokesman, Reszo Banyasz. Our Hungarian guest also met with Bogdan Jachacz, director of the Central Committee Department of Press, Radio and Television.

29 August. The presidium of the Central Party Control Commission has evaluated disciplinary actions taken by its provincial commissions against party members in connection with negative phenomena discovered by organs of control and especially the squandering of social funds on different anniversaries, conferences and so-called course conferences. The presidium accepted a series of themes for control during the second half of the year.

On the occasion of the 65th birthday, the famous actor and social activist Halina Kossobudzka received a letter of congratulations from Premier Wojciech

Jaruzelski. The letter was presented her by Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon who also conveyed the best wishes of the party leaders.

Politburo Member and Vice-Premier Zbigniew Messner, campaigning as a PRON Sejm candidate, took part in a consultative meeting in Piekary Slaskie.

30 August. The Central Committee Commission on Science and Education met under the direction of Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski to discuss the problems of schools of higher learning. Since Tadeusz Porebski took over the Central Committee Interparty Commission, the Commission on Science and Education elected Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski as its chairman.

31 August. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski received a visit from the secretary general of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Ibrahim Zakaria, who is leading an official federation delegation on a visit to Poland for which it was invited by the All-Polish Trade Union [OPZZ].

1 September. Wreaths were laid at monuments and throughout Poland and ceremonies were held to observe the 46th anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Poland.

In Warsaw, a ceremonial changing of the guard was held at the Grave of the Unknown Soldier. A wreath was laid there in the name of the PZPR Central Committee by Jozef Czyrek, Marian Orzechowski and Waldemar Swirgon.

At the conclusion of a peace and disarmament demonstration by unionists under the Nike Monument in Warsaw, a wreath from the Central Committee was laid by a delegation consisting of Jozef Czyrek, Marian Wozniak, Jerzy Urbanski and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

In Party Instances and Organizations

19 September. Deputy Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Gdansk Provincial PZPR Committee Stanislaw Bejger took part in a pre-elections consultative meeting at the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk.

20 September. Representatives of the coastal authorities led by Deputy Politburo member and First Secretary of the Gdansk Provincial PZPR Committee Stanislaw Bejger met with the Carlos-Roloffa-Mialowski Brigade of Cuban youth.

Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski took part in an all-Polish historical session dedicated to the 900th anniversary of the birth of Boleslaw the Wry which was organized in the Palace of Mazovian Princes in Plock on the initiative of the Plock Academic Society.

21 August. Deputy Politburo Member and National Defense Minister, Army Gen Florian Siwicki, campaigning as a PRON candidate for Sejm deputy, took part in two consultative meetings in Zagan and Sprzotawa in Zielona Gora province.

Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk and the director of the Central Committee Department of Cadre Policy, Wladyslaw

Honkisz, met with the aktiv at the Chemitex-Wistom Works in Tomaszow Mazowiecki.

Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek visited Kalisz province where he learned about the course of harvests and the effects of flooding. Z. Michalek also visited the Kotlin RSP [expansion unknown] and met in the agricultural center of the provincial OPR [expansion unknown] in Warsaw with school youth staying at a boy scout camp with children from the German Democratic Republic.

22 August. Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski, campaigning as a PRON candidate for Sejm deputy, took part in a consultative meeting in Wroclaw.

23 August. The Szczecin Provincial PZPR Committee discussed the principles of housing policy and the growth of construction for 1986-1990.

Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek, campaigning as a PRON candidate for Sejm deputy, took part in a consultative meeting at Ryki in Lublin province.

Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski, campaigning as a PRON candidate for Sejm deputy, took part in a consultative meeting Sroda Slaska.

Deputy Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Gdansk Provincial PZPR Committee took part in a consultative meeting at the Polish Oceans Lines in Gdynia.

Politburo member Stanislaw Kalkus participated in central ceremonies honoring Aviation Day in Poznan.

Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski met with students and participants of the school vacation camp in Rydzyn.

24 August. At the crowning meeting of the "Gryfiada-85" all-Polish artistic conference of school youth in Szczecin, Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon, Vice-Premier Edward Kowalczyk, Director of the Central Committee Department of Science and Education Bronislaw Ratus and Minister of Education and Upbringing Boleslaw Faron took part in a gala concert.

25 August. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek took part in ceremonies honoring the 600th anniversary of one of the largest villages in the Rzeszow region, Markowa kolo Lancut.

26 August. Politburo Member and Vice-Premier Zbigniew Messner, a PRON candidate for Sejm, took part in a consultative meeting in Katowice.

Politburo member Stanislaw Kalkus participated in a meeting between Poznan regional authorities and members of the 2nd Cuban Youth brigade.

Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski met students at an adaptive training camp at Funt on Lake Charzykowskie.

Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek, Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry Stanislaw Zieba and First Secretary of the Poznan Provincial PZPR Committee learned about the course of the region's harvests in the village of Wrzesnia, Poznan province.

27 August. Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek, a PRON candidate for the Sejm, took part in a consultative meeting in Mielec.

Deputy Politburo member and Minister of National Defense Army Gen Florian Siwicki visited boy scouts participating in the 2nd field harvest of senior scouting at Grunwald.

28 August. Deputy Politburo member and Rector of the Social Sciences Academy Marian Orzechowski took part in the ceremonial opening of the new party training year of the Szczecin party organization.

1 September. Deputy Politburo member and Minister of National Defense Army Gen Florian Siwicki met with the party and political aktiv of Poznan province.

Interparty Cooperation

A PZPR delegation under Deputy Politburo Member and Social Sciences Academy Director Marian Orzechowski visited Moscow. The delegation learned about the CPSU's experiences in party work and its system of training party cadres. It also visited the Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences and Institute of Social Sciences. The Polish delegation was received by CPSU Central Committee Secretary Mikhail Zimyanin.

19 September. A PZPR delegation under Vice-Chairman of the Central Party Control Commission Tadeusz Nowicki visited Denmark for the holiday honoring the press organ of the Danish Communist Party, LAND OG FOLK. They met with the leadership of the Danish party and its chairman, J. Jensen.

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POLAND

GOVERNMENTAL FUNCTION OF SEJM DESCRIBED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12 Sep 85

[Article by Jadwiga Mikolajczyk: "What You Should Know About the Sejm"]

[5 Sep 85 p 3]

[Text] In the flood of reports, interviews and newspaper articles about the work of the Sejm we find information and ideas that are not always familiar to every reader. This often makes it hard to understand the government functions of the Sejm and the method that it uses to fulfill that function.

The Sejm is a complicated organism. It is comprised of many parliamentary institutions, the number of which has considerably increased during the present term. In this cycle of articles, we would like to inform our readers about the Sejm, its tasks, organization and method of activity. We will also be glad to answer any questions that readers wish to send us.

Sejm Authority

In accordance with the Polish Constitution, the Sejm is the highest organ of state power and exercises the sovereign rights of the Polish people. It realizes its constitutional role in three areas: legislation, the establishing of programs and in monitoring the government.

The Sejm therefore:

- passes laws (and may do so on the initiative of the Council of State, government or its own deputies);
- passes resolutions in which it set basic directions for state policy;
- monitors the activity of other government organs and the state administration. It adopts the annual report of the government.

One of the powers of the Sejm is that it establishes the national economic and social plans for periods of several years and sets the state budget each year. During the present term, the Sejm's influence on economic planning has been increased. For example, before passing the present 5-year plan, it selected one of many variants presented it. The Sejm also examines the CPR [expansion unknown] (which is provided by the government).

Aside from the budget, the Sejm also establishes the balance of payments, credit plan and the plan for the Central Cultural Fund. This means that the Sejm controls all of the instruments of state financial policy. The Sejm also reviews government reports on the implementation of financial and economic plans.

Other areas of Sejm authority are:

- choosing from among its deputies the members of the Council of State (which, according to the Constitution, "is answerable to the Sejm for all of its actions");
- forming and dissolving the government of the Polish People's Republic;
- naming and dismissing the chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK];
- naming and dismissing the chairman of the Polish National Bank;
- choosing the members of the Tribunal of State and the Constitutional Tribunal (which was named for the first time by the 9th Sejm);
- choosing the members of the Social and Economic Council (provided the next Sejm decides that this consultative organ is to be preserved).

[6 Sep 85 p 3]

[Text] From Presidium to Commission

The Sejm has 460 deputies who make up this organ of parliament. In accordance with regulations, the organs of the Sejm are:

-- the Sejm Presidium consists of the marshal of Sejm and the four vice-marshals. The Presidium protects the rights of the Sejm, sees that its programs are realized, represents the Sejm outside, sees to the correct application of regulations and coordinates the work of Sejm commissions.

-- The Convention of Seniors is an advisory organ of the Sejm Presidium. It provides a smooth flow of Sejm work and coordinates cooperation between the deputy clubs and circles. The convention consists of the marshal and vice-marshals, the chairmen of the deputy clubs, the chairman of the Social and Economic Council and the coopted chairmen of deputy circles.

The main centers of parliamentary action are the Sejm commissions. This is where the real life of the Sejm occurs because in these commissions, the

Sejm's position on different matters takes shape through discussions and debates. The commissions tasks include review of drafts for bills and resolutions (as well as the premises behind them). Fulfilling (each within the sphere of its own interests) the important function of deputy control of state organs, the commissions independently realize prepared work plans, hear reports by government representatives and analyze the activity of certain sectors of the economy and administration. In connection with this, they can issue certain desiderata and opinions to the Council of State, government, chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, prosecutor general and individual ministers. A response to these desiderata should be sent within 30 days.

At the end of the 8th term, there were 20 Sejm commissions but that number has been reduced in comparison to 1980. The main direction of changes (unfinished) has been a switch from sector commissions to problems commissions (for example, the Industrial Commission alone has replaced several "branch" commissions).

Some completely new commissions have come into being during this session as an expression of the new tasks presented the Sejm by the processes of renewal and reform. Some of these new commissions include the Commission on Worker Self-Management which is an instrument whose help allows the Sejm to exercise direct care for the development of worker self-management, the Commission of Complaints and Recommendations and the Commission for Constitutional Responsibility which was created when the Constitutional Tribunal was established (it is supposed to consider the validity of starting recommendations of accountability for constitutional responsibility).

With regard to their thematically limited range of activity, the following commissions are unique: the Commission on the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances and the commission most overworked this term, the Commission on Legislative Work (established in 1972).

In accordance with the Sejm's constitutional authorities, it can create special commissions to study certain problems. During the 8th session, 7 such commission were created. In March 1981, an extraordinary commission was created to monitor the realization of the agreements made in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebia. Another such commission was formed to review bills on cooperatives and cooperative unions, the system of people's councils and territorial government, extension of the term of Sejm, the electoral ordinance for people's councils, the Constitutional Tribune, the rights and duties of deputies and the Sejm electoral ordinance.

[9 Sep 85 p 3]

[Text] Sessions and Meetings

The Sejm meets in sessions called up by the Council of State at least twice each year. The autumn session takes place no later than 31 October and the spring session no later than 1 April.

The Sejm itself decides when to end a session (in the latest session, it turned out that a new one was called only a few days after the preceding one closed). the Council of State may also call an extraordinary session on its own initiative or on the written recommendation of at least one-third of all of the deputies.

Plenary meetings occur during Sejm sessions at dates set by the Sejm Presidium. These meetings which often last 2 days and there have been 70 of them held during the more than 5 years of the last Sejm term. This amounts to an average of one plenum per month. The Sejm has passed 203 laws, 30 of which have come from the initiative of its deputies, and a large number of resolutions. The chamber has heard scores of reports and government announcements.

The drafts of bills and resolutions are submitted to the marshal of Sejm (popularly stated, they are submitted to the mercy of the marshal). They are reviewed in two (for laws) or one (for resolutions) readings. The first reading can take place at a plenary meeting or within a commission. The presidium decides where the reading is held according to the importance of the law. For example, bills on constitutional changes, budget laws, legal codices and other socially-important bills usually have their first reading at a chamber plenum. During this first reading, the initiators present their reasoning for the bill and answer questions from deputies. There is also discussion over the general principles of the bill after which the Sejm may send the bill to the appropriate commission or reject it.

Once the work on a bill is finished, the commissions (usually the Problem Commission or the Legislative Work Commission) gives the Sejm a report (read by a chosen deputy) which forms the basis for discussion by the next meeting of the chamber. This is the second reading which concludes with a vote.

[10 Sep 85 p 3]

[Text] New Organs of Parliament

The Social and ~~Economic~~ Council is the Sejm's advisory and deciding organ. It was formed in March 1982 during the course of one term. It forms an opinion on matters referred to it (such as bills, resolutions, etc.) and acquaints the public with the given problem. It may also consider problems on its own initiative. It has recently consisted of 149 members including the representatives of company employees, farmers and farmer organizations, cooperative and skilled workers associations, trade unions, public organizations and creative and scientific associations. The council's opinions have become an important element in the decisions of the Sejm which recommended its creation during the 9th term.

The Sejm Advisors Team prepares on the orders of the Sejm Presidium expert opinions and specialist reports on the important matters reviewed by the parliament and initiates research and studies connected with the long-term program of legislative work and monitoring. It also organizes scientific

advice for the needs of the Sejm. The team consists of 26 members including famous specialists from areas such as economics, finance and law.

The Constitutional Tribune stands on guard over the propriety of legislation. In accordance with the provisions of constitutional law, the tribune is supposed to speak out on whether laws and legislation agree with the Constitution. It sees that the Constitution is the basic source of law and that any new law be consistent while all lower-level legal acts such as ministerial decrees be in accordance with the law. When the Tribunal's decides that a law is not in accordance with the Constitution, this decision is reviewed by the Sejm. The Sejm chooses members of the Tribunal from among the best best legal minds in the country. They are independent and responsible only to the Constitution. The 8th Sejm created the legal conditions for the activity of the Tribunal and when the 9th Sejm chooses its members it will be able to start work on the date set by law, i.e. on 1 January 1986.

The Tribunal of State functions in accordance with the law of 26 March 1982. In July of that same year, the Sejm chose the Tribunal's judges and passed a resolution on the provisions of its activities. The Tribunal of State is chosen at the first Sejm meeting and the appointments remain valid for as long as the current Sejm is in office. Its members are not Sejm deputies.

The Tribunal of State is supposed to decide on the responsibility of persons holding the most important positions of state for any violation of the Constitution or law. Only the Sejm has the right to hold these people constitutionally responsible and it is the Sejm Commission on Constitutional Responsibility that is the first to consider a recommendation for such. The Tribunal can impose such penalties as the loss of active or passive right to be elected to the Sejm and to people's councils, ban the holding of any leadership positions or the performance of important functions in state organs, public organizations and revoke medals, awards and honorary titles.

The Supreme Chamber of Control can be called a new Sejm institution in the sense that changes in the Constitution made it again subordinate to the Sejm. The Supreme Chamber of Control does a large part of its work on the orders of the Sejm. It also works to meet the needs of Sejm commissions that in studying certain matters, use the assessments and analysis of the NIK. The commissions receive nearly 500 reports every year.

The chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control presents the position of that organ at Sejm plenary meetings (for example, the NIK's position on the matter of the implementation of the National Social and Economic Plan and the state budget). The Sejm presidium reviews reports on the NIK's activities every year.

[11 Sep 85 p 3]

[Text] Deputy Clubs and Circles

Deputies and members of political parties are organized into deputy clubs. According to regulations, the Sejm Presidium, after hearing the opinion of the Convention of Seniors, may also agree to create circles or teams of deputies on principles other than party membership.

The 8th Sejm had three deputies clubs, the PZPR, ZSL and SD clubs, and three deputy circles, the PAX, PZKS [expansion unknown] and Christian Social Union circles.

Clubs represent their parties in the Sejm and work to realize their programs within the parliament. The tasks of party deputies are stated by Polish law as follows: "The task of deputies as party members is to strive to fully realize the constitutional role of the Sejm, represent and support within the Sejm the program and policies of the PZPR in matters of key importance to the state and nations. The PZPR Deputy Club acts under the guidance of the Central Committee".

A recently passed law on the rights and duties of deputies states that the leaders of deputy clubs and circles should notify the Sejm Presidium of their organization's internal rules. These rules should help the realization of their deputies constitutional, and legal rights and duties.

The clubs gather to meet before every plenary session of the Sejm (or even independently of that event). During their meetings, they work out the position that their members must take on the most important matters to be considered by the Sejm. Only in the most extreme cases has the PZPR Deputy Club enforced party discipline among its deputies and many other times it has not limited its deputies' freedom to take their own positions in debate.

The subject of discussion in the deputy clubs is also the more universal problems of prospective programs for national development, the consolidation of democracy and strategic economic premises, etc.

It is the activity of the deputy clubs and circles that realizes the general principles of a coalition government. This expresses itself as developed cooperation in many areas. For example, deputies cooperate to create the concepts of important laws. In this way, the Constitutional Tribunal and Tribunal of State were created.

[12 Sep 85 p 3]

[Text] Deputy Interpellations

One of the deputy's powers that was fully used during the 8th Sejm was the right to interpellate and submit enquiries (of which there were about 800 in this term). This form of deputy control over the government has grown since 1980.

The right to interpellate is a constitutional power of deputies. It involves matters of a more fundamental nature whereas enquiries are associated with more complex matters. Interpellations and enquiries can be addressed to the premier and members of government or to the chairman of the NIK and prosecutor general.

Deputies submit their enquiries and interpellations to the marshal of Sejm who then informs the same at the soonest possible session about the content of the interpellation and any reply (which should be presented within 14 days). In practice, answers are usually given orally at a session.

Deputy Teams

A deputy is active not only in the Sejm but also among his voters. Provincial deputy teams are an institution that help organize a deputies work in his own region.

The current regulations state that deputies can organize themselves into deputy teams. The new law on the rights and duties of deputies has made these teams an obligatory institution. They function almost like Sejm organs.

The teams have duties such as the creating organizational conditions enabling the Sejm and deputies to keep in touch with the voters (the organization of meetings, visits and de jour duty) and maintain contact with local government political organizations in the territories. The teams are also supposed to help deputies execute their mandate by, for example, taking care that the administration perform its duties with regard to an intervening deputy.

The tasks and forms of activity of the teams are supposed to be defined in detail by the Sejm regulations. We can, for example, expect the participation of the WZP [expansion unknown] in the taking of polls on Sejm bills, in studying their effectiveness and in presenting to the Sejm the views of the voters on many matters.

Secretariats have been formed to aid the teams. They relieve the most encumbered deputies of paperwork and provide the voters lasting contact with their deputies.

12261
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POLAND

GLEMP ADVISOR CALLS FOR MEDIATING 'CENTER' IN DIALOGUE

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 37, 15 Sep 85 p 3

[Text] Among readers today the discussion between Marxists and Catholics, published recently in No 6 of the Krakow monthly ZDANIE, is rather popular. But if it is rather popular, it is first of all because of the appearance "in Catholic colors" of Andrzej Grzegorzczak, who took a specific position at the time, condemning those co-religionists who declined to participate in the discussion. In Grzegorzczak's opinion, the Catholic community, since the election of a Pole as pope and the emergence of Solidarity has become more closed off and stiffened and subject to Vatican control more now than during other pontificates. Thus Grzegorzczak demands publication of the names of the people who, having been invited by the editorial office, have refused to participate in discussion or dialogue. This attitude as well as the conclusions following from it were the reason for Andrzej Micewski's public statement in the Czestochowa weekly NIEDZIELA (Number 36/85), in which he published a sharp rejoinder that fortunately went beyond the incident itself and the personality of the Warsaw philosopher, logician and professor.

"Well, Grzegorzczak has been transformed from an unruly child into an inquisitor in accordance with the notion of "we will take the bull by the horns and make liberalism," Micewski says. "I respectfully submit, to the professor who insists on shabby doings, that I have declined, I have not responded to the proposals of ZDANIE, ODRODZENIE and several other organs or institutions. And I have declined not for fear of the Holy Father or the primate but because of my appraisal of the social situation. . . . Obviously my hopes, not my personal ones but social ones of course, have been thwarted. It is more worthwhile then to reflect on the social situation in Poland.

"Primate Glemp, well known as an advocate of social agreement and understanding, said in one of his sermons in 1983 that he would no longer talk about these matters, because they had not met his expectations and he did not want to be misunderstood. The primate did not abandon his ideas, but merely resolved to not talk about them for the time being so as not to provide anyone the one-sided advantage of exploiting his words without fulfilling his ideas.

"Social understanding in Poland," Micewski adds, "is a very important issue, but its difficult to keep repeating this truth when it is not being more

broadly accomplished in a way that would be acceptable to the broad range of Polish public opinion. . . . True dialogue must apply to such questions as the scope of man's freedom, society's subjectivity, matters of ecological dangers, the situation of family farming, disinvestment of industry, economic strategy, law and order, social justice, democratization, social autonomy and many similar national and international issues."

In analyzing the country's socio-political situation, Micewski comes to the conclusion that "Poland lacks a 'center,' an element capable of coming to terms with both extremes of social position. In dramatic moments the church via facti fulfills a mediatory role and has become, thanks its possession of moral authority, an institution saving the country from the worst. . . ." It is the lack of an institutionalized social 'center' that means that after the great upheavals and events at the beginning of the 1980s, socio-political polarization persists and in certain moments intensifies. And the situation is not such that the polarization of opinions can be easily overcome by force of persuasion. Social psychology has its own laws and changes of consciousness take place very slowly, especially when objective economic conditions are not very favorable to them. The existence of a social 'center' in Poland therefore would be very valuable for political equilibrium and social peace in the country. But apparently not everyone understands this because people from the 'center' are fairly often excluded from rather than drawn into public life, not to mention the possibility of their having institutional forms. Official circles simply want unity of everyone on their side.

Not only officials elements, but also a major portion of independent public opinion have an ambivalent attitude toward the issue of the formation of a social 'center.' It is felt that positions of independent orientation can weaken tendencies for compromise. They can but they do not have to. Everything depends on whether the 'center's' orientation would also be independent and genuine, whether it would have socially credible people, courageous, independent people, removed from the doctrinal pattern. In my opinion, what should distinguish them, says the author, is what I call political calculation. Calculation encompasses, in my opinion, not ideological but practical reckoning with realities, distance from all extremes, discretion and caution. . . ."

After all there is not time to waste. "The country's situation in key issues is worth a nationwide debate that would be based on a broad range of solid information furnished by the government. For in public opinion there prevails a certainty about many foreseen threats in addition to current difficulties and troubles. Only very broad and exhaustive government information could should whether certain very pessimistic prognoses anticipated are justified. .

And one more of the article's final questions: "Do some people in official circles imagine that true improvement of the republic, serious reforms and lifting the country out of profound crises can occur without the participation of independent social forces who are not satisfied by an ideological conformism but who are prepared for sacrifice and creative effort on behalf of the common social good and our homeland?"

POLAND

NEW BISHOPS CONSECRATED

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 37, 15 Sep 85 p 7

[Text] As we have already indicated, Holy Father John Paul II has named Rev. Zygmunt Pawlowicz auxiliary bishop of the Gdansk diocese.

The bishop was born in Gdansk on 18 November 1927. Until the war he attended the Polish Elementary School in Gdansk. He was forced to spend the war period outside of Gdansk. His theological studies, which concluded with ordination by Bishop Kazimierz Kowalski in 1952, were conducted in Pelplin as a seminarian in the Gdansk diocese. After ordination he worked in the ministry and was also a notary in the Gdansk Bishop's Curia. From 1959 to 1962 he studied fundamental theology at Lublin Catholic University and received his master's degree. He received his doctorate in 1976 from the Academy of Catholic Theology in Warsaw. This year he was named assistant professor at that school.

Bishop designate Zygmunt Pawlowicz is currently pastor of St. Anthony parish in Gdansk-Brzeziny as well as a magistrate in the Bishop's Ecclesiastical Court in Gdansk and a lecturer at the Bishop's Ecclesiastical Seminary. He has always connected pastoral work with scholarly work and thus has 53 published articles to his credit. He regularly publishes articles in the area of his specialty in GWIAZDA MORZA.

The bishop designate was consecrated by the cardinal primate on Saturday, 7 September 1985 at 5 p.m. at the Basilica of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gdansk.

As we have already noted, Holy Father John Paul II has named Rev. Ryszard Karpinski auxiliary bishop of the Lublin diocese.

Rev. Ryszard Karpinski was born 28 October 1935 in the village of Rudzienko in the Michow parish of the Lublin diocese. After completing elementary school in Mníchów, he continued his education at the Bishop's High School in Lublin.

In 1953 he entered the seminary in Lublin, where he was ordained on 19 April 1959. After a year of work as a curate and prefect of an elementary in Lublin he was sent for biblical studies to Lublin Catholic University, which he completed with a master's degree in theology in 1963. From 1963 to 1969 he carried on further studies in Rome. In 1966 he received his degree in bible

studies at the Papal University of St. Thomas Aquinas. He used his summer vacation to assist in pastoral work in France, Austria, West Germany and US.

After returning to Poland he was named prefect of the Lublin seminary. At the same time he conducted lectures at the Institute for Higher Religious Culture at Lublin Catholic University and a course in Italian at that school.

In 1971 he was appointed to work on the Papal Commission on the Migration and Tourism Ministry. He has worked there up to the present. He has participated in many international conferences devoted to issues of population migration. He has also made many personal tours to become acquainted with the life and work of the church in Zambia and the Republic of South Africa, in Brazil, in many European countries and the US; recently he took part in the 43rd International Eucharistic Congress in Nairobi. The bishop designate has been honorary canon of the Lublin Cathedral Chapter since 1975 and in 1977 he received the distinction of chaplain to His Holiness.

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POLAND

EPISCOPATE LETTER ON ROLE, DUTY OF MASS MEDIA

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 37, 15 Sep 85 p 1

[Letter by Polish cardinals, archbishops and cardinals of the 207th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate, SZCZECIN 22 June 1985]

[Text] Beloved in Christ the Lord!

A significant phenomenon in modern civilization is the mass media--the theater, press, cinema, radio and television. Today they constitute not only a tool for many-sided and rapid transmission of information, they are not only a means for widespread communication by the people, but they also have potent power to shape awareness and attitudes. Thus the direction in which man will develop and the way in which interpersonal relationships will be formed depends on them to a large extent.

Can the church therefore look at this power with indifference? In accordance with the recommendation of Vatican Council II, Mass Media Day is observed annually. This year, proclaimed Youth Year by the UN, we would like to consider the significance of these media in the Christian formation of youth.

At the outset we want to call attention to the positive significance of the mass media as sources of information and an important element in the formation of man. For the mass media are a valuable source of knowledge about man and the world; they bring closer national achievement and world culture and enable participation in the affairs of all humanity. They should facilitate dialogue and the exchange of ideas in the family, shape moral attitudes, sensitize to the needs of neighbors and the great human family and meet the deepest spiritual needs of man.

We were also able to experience this beneficial influence of the mass media during the radio and television broadcasts of the papal inauguration and pilgrimages of Holy Father John Paul II to Poland, when millions of listeners and viewers were able to witness these great religious events. To this day we feel a scarcity of such broadcasts, which evoke unity and bring a feeling of a community of faith and culture. The audience of the Sunday radio Mass--the sick and working people--experiences the benefits of the mass media. The media intensify the feeling of brotherhood and the church's universality, present

its apostolic mission to all people on earth, the mission expressed in concern for human dignity, for human conditions of existence in peace and freedom.

Thus devices from the realm of the mass media must be acknowledged as a great benefit to mankind, but they are also, unfortunately, a threat to man's spiritual development.

In alarming proportions, the mass media have repeatedly been taken over by people who unscrupulously aim to achieve material profit or ideological and political subordination of entire societies. These media too often promote acceptance of a model of life that is not only far from the ideals of the Gospel but also departs from the framework of fundamental values that together shape national culture and tradition. For they often promote an irresponsible lifestyle that is conducive to an attitude of passivity and selfishness and turns away from reflection on man's important problems.

The ideologies promulgated by the mass media concentrate the attention of young people exclusively on earthly matters; they often exude hopelessness and discard belief in God, in man's spiritual dimension and his calling to life God in eternity. Finally, it also happens that these media stray from the truth and consciously make us of lies.

The existence of such dangers requires not only vigilance, but also constant and energetic effort to counteract these dangers by all church members.

Thus we turn first to all people of good will--to the creators of culture who use the media in their work, to those who create programs and produce them, to authors, editors, journalists, directors, actors and announcers. Consider in conscience how powerful your influence can be on the minds and emotions of the people, especially as regards youth. What a great responsibility before God is associated with the performance of your noble occupation. "Let your speech be yes--yes; no--no" without deceit or insinuations. The need for truth in information is the foundation of public trust; untruth divides and causes the people to live not in unity but isolation and loneliness, in mistrust of neighbors, life and ideals. And remember the words of Christ: "Woe to those who scandalize," woe to those who through foolish, shoddy and morally questionable entertainment, attempt to detach young people from important questions on the quality, purpose and ultimate dimension of human life. If you are believers, the church desires to be present through you lay Catholics where the spiritual development of the human masses, especially youth, is affected in such a powerful way. If your philosophy does not spring from religious inspiration, remember the obligation to be faithful to the truth of your conscience.

The church itself, which preaches the Gospel of salvation in various way, in this time, in an era of great development of the mass media, wants to make use of them too.

That is why we have anxiously observed the recent process of numerous limitations of the Catholic and religious press in our country, which in any case makes up only 1.1 percent of the total press circulation in Poland.

Catholic magazines are published on a small scale, in small editions and in many cases are delayed. This to a large extent makes impossible the achievement of even such a goal as providing help in the conscious experience of the mysteries of the liturgical year.

We turn to priests and parents, that they may not only propagate the Catholic press and books, but also do everything possible in the area of providing help to young people in the proper use of the benefits the mass media being. The point is not to isolate youth from them, but to help to see that these media are used to advantage in the process of a young person's development toward Christian maturity. The point here is also shaping in young people a sound critical sense whose basis is knowledge of moral principles of the Gospel as well as a well formed sensitivity to what is true, good and beautiful. Religious art and a carefully conducted liturgy, as well as conversation and discussion on subjects regarding culture can be a great help in the development of moral and artistic sensitivity.

Let us create in our homes, parishes and communities a climate such that children and youth can prepare themselves for mature participation in the culture. If we have no influence on the content of bad programs, we do not have to watch them. Unskillful and often inane use of the mass media undermines the very foundation of family life--member of the family cannot find the time to talk to each other.

Finally, we turn to youth. This letter is written with you in mind. Remember that youth is not a time for unthinking anticipation of adulthood, but a period of creative work on maturity. That is why self-education is an important task. To be truly, mature and strong, as Holy Father John Paul II wrote to you in his apostolic letter for International Youth Year, "does not mean doing anything I want, anything I feel like. Freedom contains the criterion of truth, the discipline of truth. . . . To be truly free means to use one's freedom for what is a true good. . . . To be truly free means to be a person of right conscience, to be a responsible person, to be a person 'for others.'"

The modern mass media play a significant and responsible role in this task. The point is that you learn to use them critically and wisely as free people. In this area too appropriate discipline is crucial. You need not succumb passively to the magic of screen and sound. Use of the mass media should always be based on the conscious choice of that which is useful and good, which serves the recognition of truth and development of human nature.

Thus ask yourselves often: In taking advantage so abundantly of cultural good and technical progress, am I becoming better, spiritually more mature, more aware of the dignity of my humanity, more responsible, more open to others, especially the needy and weak, more willing to serve and help everyone ("Redemptor hominis" 15).

On the great work on shaping full humanness through wise use of modern media that civilization brings, we bless creators, priests, parents and youth in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

POLAND

HOMILY ON MASS MEDIA BROADCAST

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 37, 15 Sep 85 p 4

[Text] We are publishing the text of remarks by Rev. Alojzy Orszulik, vice chairman of the Episcopate Commission on the Mass Media. These remarks will be delivered during the broadcast of the Mass on Polish Radio from the church of the Holy Cross on 15 September at 9 a.m.

Beloved in Christ the Lord!

Vatican Council II, the 20th anniversary of whose conclusion comes this year, recommended that we consider the significance of the mass media on a chosen date each year. The faithful are to be instructed about the responsibilities they bear in using radio, television, films, the press, publications, programs and other technical devices whose aim is mass communication. This day is to be a meeting in prayer in reflection in which the entire church community, summoned to spread and witness to the Gospel (Mark 16:15), should be included.

The church in Poland has established the third Sunday of September each year as Mass Media Day. Today is that day, today we are to fulfill the recommendation of Vatican Council II and become aware of our rights and responsibilities--clergy and faithful--in the realm of the mass media. It is also to be a meeting in prayer.

The council also imposed the obligation to spread the message of salvation with the help of the mass media, emphasizing that the church has an innate, natural and thus not bestowed by anyone "right to use and own any kind of media." (DSP 3). The church sees in the media a "gift of God." In accordance with God's providential designs, they are to lead to brotherly friendship among people (Communio et Progressio 2), contributing to the salvation and perfection of man, of every human being. Coexistence and unity of the people, the primary goal of any kind of communication, according to Christian belief is derived from and finds its best example in the eternal coexistence of God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit living in the same divine life (CP 8). The new Code of Canon Law has determined that shepherds of the church, in fulfilling their mission, should make use of the media, while the responsibility falls to the faithful to see that in their cooperation with these pastors, they strive to "imbue the use of the mass media with human and Christian spirit" (Canon 822, par 1,2).

The media can be and are abused by those who control them, especially when they spread principles contrary to natural, to God's commandments and to the laws of the Gospel, or when they use the media in the fight against philosophical and religious convictions. Often the media encourage an abusive, liberal, secular attitude, a variety of anti-Christian ideologies. Vatican Council II teaches that these media should be brought as closely in line as possible with moral principles, "especially as regards matters requiring due deference or those that could easily inspire base desires in man weakened by original sin" (DSP 7).

In this connection the council reminds Catholic parents of their obligation to see "that programs, publications and other things of this nature, which could disparage belief and good customs, not be admitted to their homes and that their children not be exposed to them elsewhere" (DSP 10).

Each year the Holy Father designates a topic for Mass Media Day. This year the topic is "the mass media in Christian service of the advancement of youth." The choice of this subject for the day is appropriate to the initiative of the UN, which has declared 1985 International Youth Year.

The world of the media today has entered the phase of rapid development, bringing with it not only a change in the system and technology of communication but also including a human being's entire cultural, social and spiritual world. Young people are subject to its influence; they are fascinated by it. The question arises, is this influence good, is this fascination appropriate? "Man's fate has always been decided on the field of truth, of the choice he himself, by virtue of the freedom bequeathed to him by the Creator, makes between good and evil" (Papal Message on 19th Mass Media Day, par 3).

Is a young person always capable of a proper choice in the enormous amount of information transmitted with the help of the most modern computers or more traditional radio, television, film, cassettes, recordings, newspapers and books. These media often take over youth's entire time, to the detriment of education and to the detriment of active participation in family life. In his message for this year's Mass Media Day, the pope cautions that "a one-sided education, which ignores the basic interpersonal relationship based on dialogue and discussions, attempting to emerge in place of education by traditional teachers, especially by parents. Formation directed toward the development of a feeling of individual and collective responsibility is opposed by an attitude of passive acceptance of fashion and the needs imposed by materialism, which in stimulating consumption leaves a feeling of emptiness in the human consciousness" (Message 6). Further, the pope declares that this situation requires "educational action in the family, in the parish through religious instruction that has as its goal the instruction and guidance of young people toward sober and disciplined use of the media, helping them in working out a proper, faith-enlightened, critical judgment of what they see, hear or read" (Message 6).

This maturity of judgment of what one sees, hears or reads is also necessary for adults. And not only this critical and mature judgment, but also an active position of "Catholic unity, which if it becomes necessary, will come out

against performances and programs that threaten youth's moral good, that will fight so that information about the church will be true and will demand programs that are positively inspired by genuine values" (Message 6).

One of the media available to the church in Poland is magazines. Their monthly circulation is over one million copies. This is little in relation to needs. Vatican Council II recommends the creation and development of a truly Catholic press, support of good publications and the propagation of the reading of Catholic publications. Every Catholic has the right to at least one Catholic publication approved or supported by church authority. Every family should make the effort to have such a publication, such a magazine. The family is the proper place where the reading of Catholic publications should develop. Good publications and good books should be shared with neighbors. An active Catholic family should be recognized not only by the displaying of a crucifix at home--a sign of faith-- but also by the Catholic publications it reads. The faithful have the right to turn to the clergy for help in obtaining Catholic publications, whether in the parish or appropriate editorial office.

A great event for the church in Poland, for Polish culture, was the start in 1980 of publication in Rome of the Holy See's periodical L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO in Polish. This is a monthly that contains papal instructions and information on the Holy Father's activity as well as problems of the universal church. This monthly, so rich in content, is brought to Poland with the consent of the Polish government. Those who want to can order it in their parish. No Catholic family should be without a publication containing papal instructions, especially when one considers that the Holy Father is a Pole and often speaks to his countrymen in the columns of this publication, inspiring hope and teaching principles of Christian faith and morals. Having and reading L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO is a moral obligation, indeed it should be an honor for every Catholic family.

Today's Mass Media Day gives the opportunity to pray for those who five years ago, since 12 September 1980, again made possible the broadcast of Holy Mass from Holy Cross Church in Warsaw. Thanks to this broadcast, we gathered in Holy Cross Church and you, dear listeners, gathered before your radios, are one great church community that can experience, regardless of where we are--in a hospital, sanatorium, a small room, at work, on a trip, in a car--the same mysteries of faith and participate in the most holy Sacrifice of the Mass. What a magnificent thing. We want to say together, "May God reward you" not only to those who have made this broadcast possible for the past five years, but also to the technicians who on every Sunday and holiday take care that this broadcast be carried on undisturbed. Undoubtedly this "may God reward You" is said with special gratitude today by the sick, for whom this radio Mass is mainly intended. You, my dear sick ones, understand best the meaning of this radio Mass. It enables you to unite your sufferings with the agony of Christ the Lord and bear them nobly for the Kingdom of God.

With this gratitude I conclude this reflection devoted to issues of the mass media.

POLAND

MICEWSKI CALL FOR POLITICAL 'CENTER' PROVOKES POLEMICAL RESPONSE

Further Excerpts From Micewski Article

Czestochowa NIEDZIELA in Polish No 36, 8 Sep 85 p 5

[Article by Andrzej Micewski: "Dialogue and the Golden Mean"]

[Excerpts] Let us consider for a while the social situation the evolution of attitudes in Poland. My diagnosis is simple--what Poland wants is a "center," a factor which would communicate with the two opposite poles of society. In dramatic situations the church has in fact played the role of such an intermediary and, thanks to its moral prestige, was the institution which delivered the country from the worst disaster. In principle, at such moment both sides understand and appreciate this role. Later, however, they tend to forget about it and want to use the church instrumentally. This is impossible because the church, which was established to serve nontemporal goals, does not participate in the struggle for power nor in narrowly conceived politics. The church will certainly not cease to strive for the common good, of course, but its effectiveness is greater at the time of, dramatic tension than at the time of a relaxed game when both sides are collecting points and using the passage of time to their advantage.

The ancient Romans, among them Horace, gave us the formula for the aurea mediocritas, the golden mean, the golden moderation. In theory there is a lot of it in Poland. Many people say that they are prudent and moderate, some even make a plea for the center in public life and against extremities in it, but when it comes to moments of choice, when public decisions have to be made, then, because their orientations and attitudes are not institutionalized in any self-contained organization, those same people align themselves either on the official side or with independent groups, to put it mildly.

I do not intend to lessen the significance of Catholic voices in the nationwide debate, but the illusion should be shed that the church will allow itself to be dragged into politics and will back secular and worldly, albeit important, programs. The church only speaks out on the issue from the aspect of ethical judgment and social conditions for human development. The church will not go beyond this mission and a wish to use it in politics--if anyone cherishes such a wish--should be given up.

The problem of what I call the social "center" is not only a problem of religion or philosophical views, though Catholics would have an important role to play in it. For a long time the people associated with TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY and the Znak group in the Sejm, including Professor Stanislaw Stomma, were this social "center." When this group ceased to function in political life, the mediating functions were taken over, most often under compulsion, by the Primates of Poland, Cardinals Wyszynski and Glemp. A situation which was in some sense extraordinary developed in this way. For things to return to normal, the forces of the "center" would have to undergo a certain institutionalization, for these days we feel that prominent individuals are being picked and discarded disrespectfully and that there is no institution which, proposing people for public duties, would give them the necessary credibility in the eyes of the public. You can hardly enter public life as an amateur, you simply have to represent someone, otherwise, unless you are an outstanding, well-known and spotless person, you will not win public trust. But such people are few and far between.

I repeat it once again: the discussion in ZDANIE included interesting motifs, but the participants lost sight of the social criterion of ideological divisions, and failed to appreciate the fact that they were dealing with national-scale problems. If they are to be solved, there must first be dialogue and then cooperation involving all of society. It is not because of the church and the holy father that some people refuse to express their opinion. This is the outcome of a strong polarization of society, of the fact that extreme forces exist.

These forces situated at the opposed poles of public and ideological life in Poland will oppose any idea of mediation or of a social "center."

What a lot of disgraceful slander has been hurled at the church on this account! I would like to ask one, rather rhetoric, question: Who can now delude himself that, with the current configuration of the world and domestic forces being as it is, the mode in a country situated as Poland is can undergo a rapid and radical change, that any single independent center of political thinking and activity can achieve full victory?

I believe that Poland's affiliation to the Christian culture of the West, Poland's unique spiritual identity cannot fail to have some effect on this country's sociopolitical model. If this model was brought into harmony with our membership in the community of real socialism, it would be a universally attractive contribution by Poland towards the cause of peaceful coexistence in Europe and the world. No sensible person should disparage the political realities about Poland. Neither should the social realities about Poland be disparaged. Ours is already a pluralistic society to such an extent that the temptation to concentrate all power and the rule of the souls on one side is a misunderstanding. We should strive to give the public the most appropriate kind of influence on the power centers. We should also realize that in a pluralistic society the souls cannot be ruled by those situated at one ideological pole, but a public consensus has to be achieved. In principle this consensus should be an object of constant negotiations, for

difficult problems crop up all the time. So let us look for original Polish ways and solutions, not contenting ourselves with the easy word "dialogue."

Passent Critical of Church Role

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 38, 21 Sep 85 p 3

[Article by Daniel Passent: "Between God and Caesar"]

[Excerpts] "My diagnosis is simple," says Micewski, who has close ties to the primate. "What Poland wants is a 'center,' a factor which could communicate with the two opposite poles of society."

This idea must sound like heresy to oppositionist bigots, because to them society appears united in its aversion, that is the only kind of policy they recognize, and any two opposing attitudes are out of the question for them. Micewski should be commended for this article, indeed for all his writings, because he shows courage in taking up serious topics and expresses his point in a calm and generally unemotional manner.

His goodwill, his discernment of extremist attitudes in the camp he himself represents, his attempt to make a half step in the direction of the other side--all this is important enough, but it does not bring us any closer to an answer to the question, just what is that center, just where does it stand? Goodwill alone is too little, for good intentions pave the road to hell, which I am sure Micewski believes exists, not only in this world.

Show Me the Center

Micewski, then, fails to tell us exactly where that center can be found. As a natural centrist, who has already developed bandy-legs by constantly sitting on the fence between the two camps (as one columnist wrote about me), I get the impression that unless an answer is supplied to this question terms such as 'center' or a 'third force' are bound to remain empty words, and no empty bag will stand on its own. Micewski expounds certain ideas with reference to that undefined 'center' which I share, but I have the feeling that we communicate with each other intuitively rather than consciously or accurately. I, for one, also believe that "people of the 'center' are quite often ousted from public life," but Micewski probably has in mind only the official side while I mean more than just this. Haven't Solidarity and its followers been acting in this way too? It's an old truth that when two say the same thing they needn't mean the same things. In his concept for a center Micewski goes as far as to demand its institutionalization. As long as centrists remain an amorphous mass with no autonomous organization, says Micewski, they are bound to rally to either extreme whenever even a minor crisis breaks out. "After all, where can the people of the 'center' turn to in moments of choice?"

I read his text with interest because I might at long last become member of some organization other than a sports club. However, how can such a "center" be given any institutional form, how can it be organized when no one seems to know how a centrist platform might look?

There can be no serious talk of any center while no agreement has been reached in fundamental matters, such as the unchallengeable status of socialism in Poland and of Poland's alliances along with the various consequences of this, including such consequences as martial law.

Such a center, for instance, could stand up against what I consider an excessive tendency to set up severe punishment policies, but only provided it also denounces conspiracies against the constitutional order. Such a center could become vocal in defense of academic autonomy, provided it also speaks out against abusing this autonomy by the opposition and not just against the government's control of colleges. It could demand more paper to be allocated, say, to a church-sponsored journal, but only if it will react equally vocally to attempts to use that extra paper for antistate propaganda. This is how I interpret what the primate said in the above-mentioned sermon on "the duty of working for the benefit of the nation and of defending the homeland in the existing state structure."

"The illusion should be shed that the church will allow itself to be dragged into politics and will back secular and worldly, albeit important, programs." Reading this I don't believe my eyes. Maybe there's a proofreader's oversight in it--maybe Micewski meant "dragged out of" instead of "dragged into?" After all, from Gdansk to Cracow the church is involved in politics and I doubt that a person as realistic and watchful as Micewski could fail to notice this. So, it is not only the authorities who can help create conditions for dialogue and for a strong, sensible and realistic center, but the church too. Quite simply, you can't say in one breath that of all the peoples of our region the Poles are the most religious of all or that the church commands great influence in Poland while also saying that the other side bears all responsibility for political attitudes. Micewski protests against treating the church as merely an institution--all right, that might be acceptable (but then, this must also be accepted by all oppositionists who suddenly converted and were accepted with open arms). But to demand that the church must be relieved of any share of responsibility for dialogue and for building a center--no, dear--Mr Micewski, nobody can grant you this. As they are inching closer to one another, centrists on both sides have each to do their jobs. Today Micewski says he has become "more rigid," disappointed, and unwilling to accept the advances made toward him--this "on account of the assessment of the situation." He assesses the situation, I guess, as a sad one. Not he alone. But, shouldn't precisely this be an inducement to get out of the trenches rather than to dig oneself in even deeper?

Rem Sees Obstacles in 'Opposition' Groups

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Sep 85 p 3

[Article by Jan Rem: "The Heart of the Matter"]

[For related material please see JPRS-EPS-85-104, of 22 Oct 85]

[Excerpts] The boss of ZYCIE WARSZAWY, Zdzislaw Morawski, and the vice-boss of POLITYKA, Daniel Passent, benevolently reacted to an article the Polish

primate's adviser Andrzej Micewski published in the weekly NIEDZIELA under the title "Dialogue and the Golden Mean." Naturally, the two non-Catholic commentators came forward with various and differing opinions yet they did subscribe to Micewski's chief idea, namely that it would be useful to start building something like a political center force which would be positioned between the party and the so-called opposition, but which would accept socialism as a permanent feature of Poland's reality while coming up with constructive yet separate opinions on major domestic issues.

I think Morawski failed to appreciate well enough the essential point of Micewski's argument, whereas Passent quite simply misunderstood Micewski. They take it for granted that Micewski addresses his proposal to official circles, which is a wrong assumption, because that is a mere embellishment of his article, in reality he addresses himself primarily to his own political orientation. What Micewski does propose is the creation of an independent group of lay people which would represent Primate Glemp's political line. In its ideology, this group would not be Catholically tinted, because it is not so concerned with matters of world outlook. Micewski also does not want this group to be a loose club of individuals each representing themselves but a group with the status of a real force, that is, implicitly, a group having the Polish church's blessing.

Micewski seems to be telling his cassocked masters that such a lay representation of the church line would relieve ecclesiastics from involvement in current politics. On the other hand, Micewski and others with a similar political orientation would find it easier to move about Poland's political scene if they had some mandate and did not have to act as unaffiliated individuals. Thereby Micewski indirectly rejects ideas recently expressed by different people who believe that solely on account of not feeling committed to either the authorities or the opposition they could, when organizing themselves, become representatives of the majority of Poles.

All this escaped Passent, who hurriedly announced he had joined that center force and taken on the building of its platform. He thinks that that force should rally moderates of all ideological shades, profess its acceptance of socialism and socialist Poland's alliances, distance itself from all destructive opposition, and instead commit itself to constructive critical policies. The point is that this program of Passent's is identical with the PRON platform. Quite simply, Passent would like to build PRON but with some other people joining too. The poor man failed to notice that PRON exists and that it would probably be happy to see Passent joining its company.

I think the editor-in-chief of ZYCIE WARSZAWY took the proper road, signaling to Micewski his favorable encouragement. But I think that the main difficulty in putting Micewski's idea into practice (apart, of course, from getting the approval of the potential masters of the group he would like to found) will be that Micewski, although struggling hard, cannot break out of the wrong political vicious circle within which he moves. As Passent shrewdly observes, a center force can make sense only if it distances itself unequivocally from the extreme right wing, from the militant opposition against

socialism, and only after having done this starts coming forward with independent and critical remarks addressed to the authorities. This is a prerequisite of the proposed political center force. At the same time, the mechanism of politics will inexorably lead the center to opposition against the opposition, whether or not Micewski wants it.

The foundation of the kind of group Micewski conceives would be awkward for the so-called opposition, for all its circles--abroad, underground and above ground alike--those who call for an open conflict, those who lie waiting for a fresh crisis. All these people want no go-betweens who would deprive radicals of the little that remains of their sense of existence. They want no one from circles called independent to commit themselves to cooperation with the authorities, to seek recognition as partners. So oppositionists are pulling the potential center force by its coattails to prevent it from sailing away from under their influence. But unless it succeeds in shrugging off this embrace, no center force can ever hope to emerge at all.

CSO: 2020/17

POLAND

BRIEFS

PRIEST RECEIVES GOVERNMENT AWARD--On 22 August the provincial manager of Kaliz conferred on Rev. Piotr Sokolowski the Commander's Cross of the Order of Polish Regeneration, awarded him the State Council in recognition of his public work. The 85-year-old retired Catholic clergyman, who lives in Kalisz, has been connected with the Kalisz area all his active life. After liberation in 1945 he took over a position in Brzeziny and since 1973 had been a parish priest in Iwanowice. In both parishes he was known as an indefatigable organizer of the residents' social activities, an initiator of many useful actions to bring selfless help to the people in every difficult situation. He associated his pastoral work with the formation of interpersonal bonds and mutual respect; he taught good work. Rev. Sokolowski's attitude did not escape public notice. He was honored many times and singled out as a model of service to the people and the nation. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Aug 85 p 5] 12776

CSO: 2600/1069

ROMANIA

ANNIVERSARY OF DIKTAT OF VIENNA

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 25 Aug 85 pp 33-38

/Article by Univ Reader Dr Mircea Musat: "Struggle of the Patriotic Progressive Forces and the Masses in Romania In Defense of National Sovereignty, Independence and Territorial Integrity"/

/Text/ The internal and international conditions in the summer of 1940 made Hitlerite Germany's plans for Romania's economic and political subordination possible. At the end of August 1940 Romania, with no outside support and abandoned by all the European powers, had to accept the unjust terms imposed by Nazi Germany and fascist Italy in the fascist Diktat of Vienna. Consequently Horthyite Hungary was given a territory in northwest Romania of 42,243 square kilometers with a population of 2,667,007, the majority of whom were Romanians. In speaking of the odious injustice of this action Nicolae Ceausescu said, "By the Diktat of Vienna the Axis powers accomplished one of the most infamous transfers of territorial sovereignty ever recorded in the evolution of international relations." In Vienna the foreign ministers of the two fascist states, Ribbentrop and Ciano, forced the representatives of the Romanian government to cede part of northwest Romania to Horthyite Hungary in violation of the Romanian state's sovereignty and independence by threats that otherwise Romania would be the object of a military action, invaded and wiped off the map of Europe.

Since the ensuing discord between Romania and Horthyite Hungary was jeopardizing Nazi Germany's plans in Southeast Europe, Hitler decided to take over settlement of the Horthyites' territorial claims and to settle them in such a way that give the German troops access to Bucharest and Budapest and would also enable both countries to serve German interests. Even the German dictator was convinced of the unsoundness of the Horthyites' demands and frankly admitted as much to Ciano at a meeting on 28 August 1940, saying "The solution of the problem is highly complicated because of a territorial claim ... conflicting with an unquestionably valid ethnographic claim. The population structure in the region in dispute, regarding Hungary's position as favorably as possible, is as follows: 3 million Romanians to 1.5 million Hungarians and 600,000-700,000 Germans... The ratio is 1/3 Hungarians to 2/3 Romanians." Nevertheless Hitler decided to enforce the Horthyites' claims because Romania was one of the countries hostile to the Axis. In that way he rewarded the Horthyite government for the loyalty and support it

had accorded the revanchist policy of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy for years and punished Romania for its loyalty to the policy of collective security and of the regional pacts. Hitler also intended to settle the Hungarian-Romanian territorial "difference," provoked and maintained by the reactionary and revisionist circles of the Hungarian bourgeoisie and landowners, in the Nazi spirit, which would lead to a further separation of the two peoples and to their subordination to the Third Reich.

A Brutal Act of Aggression and Violation of National Sovereignty

In the situation created by the fascist states' pressure Romania had to agree to negotiate with the Horthyite government in the summer of 1940. Negotiations on Horthyite Hungary's claims to the northwest part of Romania accordingly began between the Romanian and Hungarian government representatives at Turnu Severin in the middle of August 1940. On the basis of its age-old historical right the Romanian government rejected Horthyite Hungary's annexionist demands, accepted some minor boundary modifications, and proposed an exchange of populations between the two countries. Horthyite Hungary appeared surprised by Romania's resistance and especially by the entire Romanian people's determination to take up arms in defense of the Nation's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. A military conflict was threatening to break out between the two countries, and since that did not suit the Hitlerites, the German diplomats stopped the inevitable [sic] course toward an armed conflict between Horthyite Hungary and Romania by assuming the role of "arbiter" in the relations between the two states. To that end, on the evening of 27 August 1940 the leading diplomats of the fascist states invited the ministers of foreign affairs of Romania and Horthyite Hungary to appear in Vienna on 29 August. By the time these invitations were issued the new boundary between Romania and Hungary had already been set by Hitler like a dagger thrust into the heart of Romania, up to a few tens of kilometers from the oil region of Valea Prahovei, an area of vital interest to the Hitlerite Reich's war machine. In Vienna, in brutal violation of the independence and sovereignty of the Romanian state, the foreign ministers of Hitlerite Germany and fascist Italy formed a self-appointed "arbitration court" and demanded by virtue of the "right of force and dictation" and as an ultimatum that the Romanian representative accept the "arbitration" of the German and Italian governments. The Romanian foreign minister sent the following telegram to Bucharest concerning the position of the Romanian delegation to Vienna: "It all appears as a play written in advance, in which not a single word or gesture can be changed. I have been presented with the following alternatives: Either we accept the arbitration today, or by midnight at the latest so that the decision can be made tomorrow, or if we do not accept it we shall be attacked tomorrow and it will be the end of Romania..." As a matter of fact Hitler had drafted the plans for attacking Romania in July 1940, and on 28 August 1940 he had ordered five tank divisions and three motorized divisions supplemented with parachutists and airborne troops to be prepared to occupy Romania's oil region on 1 September in case the Romanian state leaders refused to accept the Axis states' proposals. Meanwhile Hitler asked Ribbentrop and Ciano in Vienna to force Romania to yield to Horthyite Hungary's territorial claims.

Encouraged by the Axis states' military successes against the Anglo-French bloc, in the spring and summer of 1940 Horthyite Hungary intensified its military preparations to invade Romania and seize the northwest part of it, coordinating its revisionist actions with Bulgaria and relying on the cooperation of

Hitlerite Germany. After the capitulation of France on 25 June 1940 and the defeat of the British troops on the continent, it began general mobilization of its armed forces, two-thirds of which were concentrated and shifted for aggression against Romania. Moreover, during the Romanian-Hungarian negotiations in Turnu Severin and the negotiations in Vienna "The whole Hungarian army was concentrated east of the Tisza near the Romanian border," ready to invade Romania if the Romanian government refused to accede to the Axis states' proposals and began a resistance in defense of its territorial integrity.

Under these difficult circumstances, most serious for Romania's fate and its very national existence, the Romanian leaders discussed, in dramatic meetings, the courses the Romanian state should take. The demand for unconditional "arbitration" made by the German and Italian foreign ministers was announced at the meeting of the Crown Council on the morning of 30 August 1940, attended by most of the royal councilors and members of the government as well as some representatives of the political parties. Two factions emerged in the course of the discussions, the first one consisting of representative national political figures favoring rejection of the Diktat of Vienna and the start of armed resistance in defense of the nation's borders, while the representatives of the second faction including the royal councilors and members of the government, considered armed resistance inadvisable in the international situation at the end of August 1940 and advocated escape from the impasse by accepting the terms of the German and Italian ultimatum. The votes of many of them were influenced by the telegram from the Romanian delegation in Vienna saying that Fabricius had declared that "Germany is taking no responsibility if we do not reply within 5 minutes."

Determined Opposition of the Entire People

The unjust decision imposed on Romania in Vienna on 30 August 1940 by the fascist-revisionist states in favor of Horthyite Hungary provoked a great wave of popular demonstrations throughout Romania for rejection of that odious act and adoption of firm measures, including resorting to arms in defense of the nation's territorial integrity. The entire Romanian people from government circles to the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia categorically rejected from the start the fascist states' policy of amputating the national territory. This attitude was highly pronounced both in the period preceding the act of banditry in Vienna and in that following the unjust decision.

As a matter of fact the entire nation had already arisen as one man against any territorial impairment of the nation before the so-called arbitration in Vienna on 30 August 1940. The overwhelming majority of the politicians of the time took a firm stand for rejection of Horthyite Hungary's claims and for defense of Romania's independence and territorial integrity.

In the beginning of August 1940 the legations of Hitlerite Germany and fascist Italy in Bucharest were sent memoranda in the same words in which about 200 Romanian political figures strongly protested the fascist powers' intentions of violating the territorial integrity of the Romanian state. In conclusion the memoranda said, "Motivated by the patriotic duty to defend our national heritage and existence and to help maintain the law and peace, we protest the attempts to reduce our borders and the discussions that can abet them. The present political situation is not favorable to Romania and taking advantage of it to impose

unjust decisions upon Romania cannot secure order in this region of Europe or the peaceful condition of the peoples there. On the contrary, partition of Romanian unity, which we protest in the name of the entire Romanian people, can only aggravate the enmity by creating new and powerful reasons for hostility between the states and nations for the future."

Telegrams were sent from many Romanian cities and communes to the Arbitration Commission in Vienna urging it not to accede to the revisionist claims at Romania's expense. For example, the telegram of the Romanian citizen Gurban Ion of Simeria sent on 29 August 1940 said, "Romanian endurance and justice and the blood of the martyrs in Transylvania cry out to you that any piece torn unjustly from the country demands blood for blood."

The aggravation of Horthyite Hungary's revanchist actions supported by Hitlerite Germany and fascist Italy against Romania also alarmed the progressive population among the national minorities in Transylvania and the Banat. Taking antifascist and antirevisionist patriotic stands, they condemned the fascist states' actions and advocated defense of Romania's national independence and territorial integrity. The letter of some citizens of Hungarian origin in Resita to "Chancellor Hitler" of 28 July 1940 is significant in this respect, requesting Hitlerite Germany not to grant Hungary's territorial claims. Among other things the letter said, "We have already ruined our nerves by listening to the Hungarian radio station because of the many lies it broadcasts daily. We are satisfied with our present situation and we do not want the borders changed. Over 20 years have already passed since Transylvania was annexed to Romania and it should remain so because the people wish it. Transylvania was not annexed to Romania because of the Treaty of Trianon, but because the Romanian people won this land, to which they were entitled, by struggle and the sacrifice of many lives. Transylvania is the cradle of the Romanian people because they were born here... Therefore we humbly beg the Chancellor, who has powers, to protect us and not allow us to be torn again from this land where every man feels at home."

Moreover many Hungarian politicians in Romania expressed their conviction that "If the Hungarians and the Romanians do not agree, the Germans will make a protectorate of both countries."

Repudiating the fascist states' revisionist actions and expressing their wish to go on living within the Romanian state's borders, the German population in Romania declared themselves 80 percent against the Nazi plans to partition Romania in the "survey" organized by Wilhelm Fabricius, Hitlerite Germany's minister to Bucharest, in July 1940. Many Germans opposed the Horthyite revisionist claims in memoranda sent to Berlin. In the summer of 1940 the minister of minorities in the Romanian government sent Adolf Hitler a memorandum on behalf of the German population in Romania requesting him not to accede to the Horthyite revisionist claims on Romania and to help them to go on living within the historical borders of the Romanian state.

The Romanian peoples brave and resolute stand against Hitlerite Germany and its henchmen and their heroic effort to defend their nation's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity threatened by the fascist states' aggressive actions were warmly received and approved by antifascist public opinion in many countries of the world. The American journalist Rosie Philips, traveling in

the second half of August 1940 with a group of foreign journalists in the western and northern counties of Romania, had occasion to note that the vast majority of the Transylvanian population was worried about Horthyite Hungary's revisionist actions against Romania, which they firmly rejected and advocated defense of the nation's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. As the American journalist, deeply moved by the Romanians' patriotic feelings, declared in her letter of 19 August 1940 to her husband in New York, "I wish with all my heart that the Romanians would fight for Transylvania. Ethnically it is theirs." Moreover the American journalist's conversation in Satu Mare with the German deputy Joseph Schoenburg revealed the hostility of the Germans in the west of the country toward Horthyite Hungary's revisionist actions and the German population's desire to share alongside the Romanians in defense of Transylvania's borders in case of a Horthyite aggression. In reply to the American journalist's question as to the German population's position in case of Hitlerite aid to Horthyite Hungary, J. Schoenburg declared that "Nothing worse could happen to the 600,000 Germans living in the Banat and Transylvania than to be returned to Hungarian rule." Understanding the fear of the Romanian population in the northwest of the country of the return of Hungarian rule and sympathizing with their efforts to defend the national borders from fascist aggression, R. Philips noted in her travel diary: "It pains me to think that the (Romanian -- our note) people whom I have seen dancing and singing this morning (during the day of 18 August 1940 in Cluj, Baia Mare and Satu Mare counties -- our note) in their charming costumes are going to be under Hungarian rule, which will forbid them to play their games and wear their costumes." On 21 August 1940 another American journalist, E. St. John Loves, a reporter of the Associated Press of America Agency, reported from Turnu Severin during the Romanian-Hungarian conversations that "The Germans wish to stay in Romania as a minority" and that all the Hungarians with whom he came in contact did not want to go back to Hungarian rule but wished to live as free Hungarians under the Romanians.

The RCP as the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Organizer and Leader

When Hitlerite Germany and fascist Italy decided to sacrifice Romania by partitioning its national territory and ceding a part of it to Horthyite Hungary in their own warlike interests, the antifascist and antirevisionist mass movements in Romania spread still further, expressing the will of an entire people to defend their historic rights to their ancestral land and their national freedom and independence at any price. The democratic and antifascist forces were not represented in the Crown Council's discussions, but they made their stand against the Diktat of Vienna known from the start, declaring themselves against the decision imposed by the two great fascist powers and for defense of Romania's borders and independence. In assemblies organized in Cluj, Brasov, Bucharest, Timisoara, Arad, Sibiu, Alba Iulia, Oradea, Dej, Bistrita-Nasaud, Sighisoara, Sebes and many other points, large masses of citizens of all nationalities, joined by the army, expressed their firm resolve to defend Romania's independence and territorial integrity. Moreover the mass popular demonstrations in August and September of 1940 expressed the Romanian people's profound antifascist feelings and their determined opposition to Hitlerite Germany, fascist Italy, Horthyite Hungary and the other revanchist, revisionist states.

The RCP headed this national patriotic and democratic opposition. The RCP Central Committee's letter sent to the communists in Transylvania at the end of

August 1940 said, "The Vienna decision handed down by the German and Italian imperialists could only be an imperialist decision." Meanwhile the manifestoes published by the RCP Central Committee and by its local organizations as well pointed out that the two countries, Romania and Hungary, had lost their independence through the Diktat of Vienna. Regarding the consequences of the diktat, the document "Our Viewpoint," published as a brochure by the RCP on 10 September 1940 said that it "led to the surrender of more than a million workers to the foreign yoke, to the Romanian people's subjection to German imperialism and to their enslavement, and it is leading to the military occupation of Romanian territory..." The RCP, the Ploughmen's Front, MADOSZ, other democratic and patriotic organizations, bourgeois political circles, and army groups as well rose against the dictate, organizing intensive popular demonstrations in various centers of the country through which they demanded the start of armed combat in defense of the nation's sovereignty and integrity. The demonstrations organized in Cluj, Oradea, Timisoara, Alba Iulia, Sibiu, Brasov, Arad, Bucharest, Iasi, Resita, Bistrita-Nasaud, Satu-Mare and other centers of the country took on a profoundly patriotic, antifascist mass character.

When they heard the first news of the unjust Vienna decision and the Romanian government's intention to cede part of the ancestral territory to Horthyite Hungary, tens of thousands of Romanians demonstrated during 30 August 1940 in front of the capitol in Cluj city, demanding rejection of the diktat and the start of armed resistance to defend the national borders. A mass meeting of protest in front of the Cluj city hall demanded that nothing be ceded "to Hungary and that a life and death battle to save Transylvania begin." Worried about the fate that awaited them under the fascist-Horthyite regime, the population of Cluj went on demonstrating into the evening of 30 August 1940 against the partition of the national territory, expressing their feelings in favor of rejection of the fascist states' arbitration. In describing the prevailing mood of the demonstrators around the Cluj city hall, the Somes police inspectorate reported, "It was decided that no one should sleep all night, that the National Theater and the Romanian churches should be opened, and that the bells should be rung as a sign of danger." The participants in the great demonstration, after demonstrating on the streets of the city, agreed upon a telegram to the sovereign of Romania saying, "All Transylvania, represented by the thousands of its sons assembled in Cluj, sends to those who hold the nation's fate in their hands for the moment this expression of its unalterable will to emphatically reject the Diktat of Vienna, which would give Transylvania to Hungary. We accept no decision that would steal the sacred legacy of our ancestors no matter from whom or whence it comes. We shall defend Transylvania to our last strength."

The masses of workers, led by communists and the democratic and patriotic forces, played an important part in the great demonstrations in Cluj on 30-31 August 1940, to which the railroad workers and those of the Cigarette Factory lent a definitely patriotic, antifascist and antirevisionist character. The working class originated the appeal to arm the people to resist fascist aggression.

Widespread popular demonstrations also took place at many other points in Romania. The historic city of Alba Iulia was the theater of some heated popular demonstrations protesting the fascist states' decisions in the odious Diktat of Vienna. Thousands of the city's residents, men, women, young and old, flocked in groups to the center of the city. Workers, students, tradesmen, peasants,

intellectuals and pupils came in from all communes of the county. The crowd demonstrated in Michael the Brave Square against the fascist diktat, singing patriotic songs and shouting slogans like "Long Live Transylvania!" or "We shall not give up one furrow!" or "We want arms!" or "We shall all die but we shall not give up Transylvania!" Old men with gray hair and tears in their eyes and wearing tricolor cockades, as the reports of the time related, asked for arms declaring that they would rather die in battle than see Transylvania enslaved again. The Romanian population assembled in Alba Iulia and in other cities as well sent protests to Berlin and Rome execrating the fascist Diktat of Vienna.

In Brasov the news of the separation of an important part of the country from its body sickened the hearts of all. The reporter of the Brasov daily UNIVERSUL wrote, "No one can bring himself to believe that such an act has been committed against the justice won after 1,000 years of foreign oppression by the sacrifice of so many martyrs, culminating in the sacrifice of the 800,000 heroes (in World War I -- our note)." Tens of thousands of Brasov citizens, young and old, demonstrated on the streets of the city. The masses' representatives made speeches demanding rejection of the Diktat of Vienna and the start of armed defense of the nation's territorial integrity. In Sibiu city the Romanian recruits under a command joined by many citizens demonstrated on 1 September 1940 in front of the Third Regional Corps Command against any cession of territory in Transylvania to Horthyite Hungary. In Oradea thousands demonstrated in front of the German Consulate there against the unjust decision in Vienna, while the population of Timisoara wrecked the Hitlerite German Consulate there. Expressing their patriotic and antifascist feelings, the masses in Timisoara demonstrated against the fascist Diktat of Vienna during Reichsleiter Adolf Huehnlein's visit on 3 September 1940. The fascist state's unjust decision in Vienna also aroused intense popular indignation in Arad County and city. A motion was carried at the meeting on 1 September 1940 saying that the residents of the city "declare, reaffirm and resolve again with unalterable confidence and will to carry out and defend the decisions made by the Romanian people in Transylvania at Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918 at the unanimous and freely expressed will of all the Romanians in Transylvania. The Romanian people in Transylvania also stand unalterably today on that legal, moral and historical ground for their residence within the Romanian national state and consider it their duty to defend the decision made at that time at the cost of any sacrifices."

The masses in Bucharest demonstrated against ceding the northwest of the country to Horthyite Hungary on 1 September 1940 in front of Michael the Brave's statue. The political organs reported that most of the demonstrators were workers, tradesmen, intellectuals, students and pupils joined by many Transylvanian political leaders in Bucharest. Groups of Bucharest citizens demonstrated in front of the German and Hungarian legations on the same day.

The popular demonstrations against the Diktat of Vienna in August and September 1940 brought out the masses' patriotic feelings and hostility toward the fascist states guilty of mutilating the national territory. Concerned about the turn of events, the German Legation in Bucharest phoned the Supreme Command of the Hitlerite Army in Berlin that "great anti-German demonstrations" were going on in Romania and increasing in intensity, especially in Brasov, Cluj, Oradea, Sighisoara and Bucharest.

By their great extent and antifascist nature, by the stirring appeals and slogans under which they were conducted, and by the widespread mass participation uniting some of the most different social classes and strata, the demonstrations against the Diktat of Vienna brought out the Romanian people's thirst for truth and justice and proved that their nation's independence and territorial integrity are dear to them. The outburst of rage with which the Romanian people took to the streets was also against the royal dictatorship, which had proved incapable of defending the national territory and had accepted the unjust decision imposed in Vienna.

The Romanian army also had the same patriotic feelings. In many units the army's protest took the form of firm decisions for armed resistance. The Hitlerite espionage service reported to Berlin in those days that "The armies in the west do not want to leave their positions and insist on fighting. The Romanian officers are taking offense at the cession, trying to imagine the political reason for the Vienna decision and wishing to fight. This attitude spread to the soldiers, who were demonstrating in the area and the barracks." A note about the attitude in the Danube Divisions said that the soldiers there expressed their indignation at the unjust Vienna decision, which ignored the Romanian people's historical rights. The soldiers of the Fifth Army Corps, who were natives of Transylvania, requested home leave in order to oppose the cession of Romanian territory to Horthyite Hungary.

Most of the magazines and newspapers, regardless of their political orientation, devoted many pages to the Romanian people's protest. For example, the daily NEAM ROMANESC, edited by Univ Prof Nicolae Iorga, said in an article entitled "A Great Injustice Has Been Done in Vienna" that "The Romanians cannot but protest the verdict of Vienna... Accordingly in every city in the part of Transylvania that is to be annexed to Hungary and in the part as well that is still within Romania's mutilated borders protests are made daily while the Romanians cry out against the new injustice that has been done to them now when all mankind is shedding blood for the freedom and independence of the peoples. Any sound mind would draw the only possible conclusion from these Romanian protests that the judgment in Vienna was an enormous error. The injustice done to the peoples cannot bring the reconciliation that is desired today, nor can a new Europe be built upon satisfaction of desires for domination." In its turn the daily UNIVERSUL, in its issue of 7 September 1940 devoted to the territorial amputations suffered by Romania in the summer of 1940, said that the verdict of the fascist states in Vienna ceded Romanian territory to Hungary against the will of the Romanian people. Moreover the dailies TIMPUL, FACIA, ORDINEA, ACTIUNEA, TRIBUNA, CURENTUL et al. conveyed the protest of the Romanian people and international public opinion against the unjust Vienna decision.

Prominent cultural, scientific and political figures as well as various progressive societies and associations rebelled against the Vienna decision. The founders of the Unification of Transylvania with the Fatherland on 1 December 1918, participants in the historic assembly at Alba Iulia, members of the National Guards and the legions of Romanian soldiers formed in Russia and Italy, leaders of the Romanian national committees, etc. were also among those who vehemently opposed the fascist Diktat of Vienna and cession of any inch of national territory and favored defense of the Romanian state's borders. On 9 September 1940 the Romanian Lawyers Union in full session violently protested the fascist

Diktat of Vienna, which "in disregard of both the historical truth and the overwhelming ethnographic facts has struck a blow to the very heart of Romania and sent 1.3 million Romanians on the way to the most cruel slavery that has ever been known." The protest also said, "Until it is abrogated the Diktat of Vienna remains an act beyond any idea of law or justice."

Heated Protests of International Public Opinion

The unjust Vienna decision imposed on the Romanian people by the fascist states aroused keen resentment and a heated protest in public opinion abroad, which condemned the dictate as a new and brutal act of fascist aggression and despotism. The reaction almost everywhere completely contradicted the euphoric atmosphere that the fascist states' propaganda and of course that belonging to its beneficiaries, the Horthyite revisionists, were trying to authenticate. Governments, statesmen, radio stations, newspapers, press agencies, scientists and scholars came out against the diktat forced upon Romania, declaring they would never accept it.

Expressing his disagreement with the arbitrary act of Vienna, the British prime minister, Winston Churchill, said that "We shall accept no territorial change made in wartime unless it is made with the consent and agreement of the parties concerned." On 6 September Lord Halifax, the British foreign minister, said in the House of Commons in his turn that "The English government does not accept the Diktat of Vienna robbing Romania of an important part of its national territory because the so-called settlement of the dispute was dictated by the Axis powers and was forced upon Romania." Opposing the fascist states' revanchist actions at the expense of other states and sympathizing with the Romanian people's just struggle to defend their nation's territorial integrity in a Radio London broadcast on 30 August 1940, the English historian Setton Watson declared, "Today can be considered a bitter day for the Romanian people, one of the blackest days the country has experienced. A new and monstrous infringement of Romania's borders was committed in Vienna today through the dictate of the Axis powers." In pointing out Transylvania's place in the history of the Romanian people he said, "Transylvania does not represent a mere territorial problem. It is the homeland of the Romanians, and the word 'Transylvania' is the ideal for which so many generations of Romanians sacrificed their lives. How could any patriotic Romanian view this decision with crossed arms?" In exposing the lies of fascist propaganda, Radio New York announced in its broadcast on 31 August 1940 that "Romania was forced to cede by military pressures from Hitlerite Germany and fascist Italy."

Nor was the fascist Diktat of Vienna recognized by the government of the United States, a state wherein the revisionist-Horthyite propagandists made sustained efforts to enlist public opinion and some political figures to bring about recognition of the new territories annexed by Hungary at Romania's expense. The Roosevelt administration rejected the revisionist propaganda and Horthyite Hungary's claims to Transylvania and other territories belonging to neighboring states.

In exposing the illegality of the fascist Dictate of 30 August 1940 to U.S. public opinion, the American journalist Milton G. Lehrer pointed out that the so-called "Vienna arbitration" was an "arbitrary, unjust and political act imposed by violence by the two conspirators, the Duce and the Fuehrer, who thought the

Europe of millenary culture has fallen so low that its destinies can be written by two adventurers posing as leaders." Concerning the nonviable and ephemeral nature of the diktat, the American journalist said, "The diktats imposed by dictators have always shared the fate of their creators. Nothing can actually be built upon violence, just as nothing can be built upon sand, neither dictatorships nor diktats." The assertion of the unity of Transylvania, which has always been an inseparable Romanian entity, was "historical, geographic, economic and ethnic nonsense, an absurdity, and a threat to the peace of Europe." As for the Romanian people's attitude, Milton G. Lehrer commented that it "almost unanimously," except for some treasonable elements in the pay of Nazi espionage (namely Iron Guardists -- our note), "rejected the verdict of Vienna from the start." The American historian and journalist went on to say that all Romanian patriots condemned the two fascist states' intervention in favor of settlement of Horthyite Hungary's revanchist claims at Romania's expense.

The odious act imposed upon the Romanian people by terror, intimidation and direct military pressure met with an equally widespread response in democratic and progressive public opinion abroad among the overseas Romanians, who condemned and denounced that arbitrary decision as another act of brutal fascist aggression and despotism.

The Romanian people's just opposition to the partition of their national territory by the fascist Diktat of Vienna met with an emphatic response in public opinion in Switzerland, Turkey, Sweden and Yugoslavia and in some Near Eastern countries as well. In the beginning of September 1940, in pointing out the ephemeral nature of the fascist states' arbitrary decision in Vienna, the Ankara daily SAN POSTA said, "It must not be forgotten that the war is still in full progress and no end to it can be seen. Therefore it would be chimerical to believe that the problems of the Danube and Balkan region have been finally resolved..."

In discussing the so-called arbitration in Vienna the famous world history professor Edmond Rossier said in an article in GAZETTE DE LAUSANNE that Horthyite Hungary could not justify its territorial claims to Transylvania during the negotiations with Romania in the summer of 1940 on ethnic or demographic grounds. The Swiss historian said the Romanian population is in the ethnic majority throughout all Transylvania. In demonstrating the falsity of the Horthyite revisionists' arguments the manager of the daily LA SUISSE, the Swiss journalist Eugene Fabre, mentioned that at Alba Iulia in 1918 "All Transylvania requested its annexation to Romania by a true plebiscite, which in fact had been ratified at Medias by the German population itself, which was very happy to have escaped Hungarian oppression. In the conclusion of his article Eugene Fabre pointed out that "The situation today is characterized by a terrible injustice that is wounding Romanian pride."

After the Diktat of Vienna Horthyite Hungary established an imperialist and colonial occupation of the fascist type in northwest Transylvania that was intended to wipe out the oppressed nations and nationalities, especially Romanians, and to secure an exclusive and dominant position in the Carpathian axis for the Hungarian population and its privileged classes especially. As soon as they entered that part of Romania the Horthyite occupiers began to enforce a program for bloody repression of the Romanians and the other nationalities in order to exterminate them physically and artificially shift the demographic ratio in favor of

the Hungarian population in the attempt to justify the eventual perpetuation of the occupation regime. Nicolae Iorga wrote, "What went on there during the takeover by the Hungarian army and administration, under the latter's eyes with no attempt to stop it and even with its friendly cooperation, is beyond all imagination and ranks with the most horrible scenes in the time of the barbarian invasions, when at least the thirst for blood was not combined with a sadism peculiar to our times."

The crimes and atrocities committed against the Romanian population by the Horthyite occupiers, of a brutality rarely encountered in mankind's history, and the participation in them of the army, military police and police alongside the members of terrorist organizations of the fascist type and of the paramilitary units, as well as the members of the fascist parties, were integrated in a well-considered plan and had been premeditated by the Horthyite leaders. Not only Romanians but many Jews, Slovaks, Serbs, Ukrainians and Hungarians fell victims to the Horthyite terror, especially among those who had participated in the antifascist and antirevisionist movement.

The Horthyite terror was especially violent against the members of the RCP, MADOSZ and the democratic, antifascist and patriotic organizations, who were arrested, tortured, interned in camps and prisons, court-martialed or killed in frightful tortures. On 27 June 1941, for example, more than 1,200 communists and antifascist militants of Romanian, Hungarian and other nationalities were arrested and interned in the torture camps at Someseni (Cluj County), Acatari (Mures County), Baia Mare and Sighet, where they were subjected to horrible tortures. During 1943 the Horthyite authorities began to hold the trials of the communist militants in the annexed Romanian territory, and they were sentenced to hard years of imprisonment. On 22 November 1943 the communist militant Bela Josza, secretary of the regional unit of the Peace Party in north Transylvania who had militated for the brotherhood of Romanian and Hungarian workers, was murdered by the Horthyite security forces in the Someseni camp.

The Lessons of History

The imperialist Diktat of Vienna stands in the history of international relations as a graphic example of the brutal policy of force to which the great powers subjected the small states. The formula "Divide et impera" applied by Hitlerite Germany and fascist Italy to international relations was intended to serve their own hegemonist, annexionist and expansionist interests and aspirations. The Romanian people, born in a world of rivalries of "the great," defended their right to exist in their ancestral homeland with exemplary dedication, displaying their unalterable will to rule in their own country. The Unification in 1918 was the culmination of a long heroic struggle, perpetuated in the people's history like a gem set permanently in the column of time. Of course the Dictate of Vienna was objectively unacceptable to the Romanian people, who were never reconciled to the curtailment of their national territory, to Antonescu's dictatorship, to Romania's inclusion in the Hitlerite Reich's sphere of influence, nor to its forced entry into the war unleashed by Nazi Germany against the Soviet Union. The resistance movement, which began immediately after the dictatorship was established, included the most varied strata in the occupied territory, while the opposition to the occupation took a wide variety of forms. That is attested by the 300,000 and more Romanians who were forced to leave their homes

and communities and go into exile, by the many forced labor camps, and by the 170,000 and more who were deported to Germany, including the 100,000 and more who were killed in 1941-1944 during the Horthyite terror.

The ideal of liberating the occupied national territory inspired the masses' struggle even in the hardest times under Antonescu's dictatorship. The dawn of liberation lit the way for emancipation of the entire territory by the victorious Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation in August 1944, when the Proclamation to the Nation on the evening of 23 August said, "Alongside the allied armies and with their aid, and mobilizing all the nation's forces, we shall cross the borders imposed by the unjust act of Vienna in order to free the land of our Transylvania from foreign occupation." Upon the RCP's appeal "All for the front and all for victory!" Romania devoted its entire economic and military potential to the anti-Hitlerite war and made the war a cause of the Romanian people as a whole.

Side by side with the Soviet Army the Romanian Army fought with legendary heroism to free the occupied territory. On 25 October 1944 the nation's entire territory was freed. The odious Diktat of Vienna was annulled, by the sacrifice of some 50,000 fighters of the 265,000 and more Romanian soldiers who fought in the battles for national liberation. On 10 February 1947 the Paris Peace Conference declared the fascist Diktat of Vienna null and void.

The victory of the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation on 23 August 1944 inaugurated a new era of radical revolutionary changes in the nation's history. In a brief period Romania passed through several historical stages, from the bourgeois-landowner system to the socialist one and on to the higher stage of building the fully developed socialist society. On the basis of this great progress in national socioeconomic development and realizing the historical fact that Romanian citizens of Hungarian, German, Serbian and other nationalities coexist alongside the Romanian people on the territory of Romania as a unified national state, the RPC solved the minorities problem in Romania forever on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist conception and the principles of scientific socialism, guaranteeing all Romanian citizens fully equal rights. This profoundly humanistic, democratic and consistently revolutionary policy led to the moral-political unity of the Romanian people and to the unity and friendship of all their sons. Accordingly the attempts of reactionary circles abroad toward a diversion concerning the so-called minorities problem in Romania and to disseminate revisionist and irredentist theories and anachronistic ideas permanently refuted by history merely mislead the workers or public in the respective countries and impair relations among peoples and countries.

The victory of socialism, the great successes achieved in building the new order, and the nation's all-around development, especially in the years since the Ninth Party Congress, made it possible to achieve full national sovereignty and independence and to advance the free and self-determined Romanian people more and more effectively in the world, proving once again by Romania's experience the fundamental truth that socialism and national independence are inseparable and form a complete whole.

The world's whole evolution proves that respect for every nation's independence and sovereignty and its right to live in freedom and independence and to develop according to its vital interests and aspirations is essential today to the

consolidation of peace, collaboration and social progress in general. The lessons of history show that the imperialist policy of use or threat of force, domination and dictation, violation of territorial integrity, interference in other states' internal affairs, and national enmity is doomed to failure. By taking firm and united action the peoples can reject or annul any diktat imposed against their will by the great powers. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, we must not for a moment forget that a people's independence, sovereignty, welfare and happiness cannot be achieved to the detriment of another people or nation. It is only by fully respecting other peoples' independence and sovereignty that every nation's new development, independence and happiness can be secured.

5186

CSO: 2700/221

ROMANIA

ORGANIZATION, OPERATION OF MINISTRY OF LIGHT INDUSTRY

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 39, 9 Aug 85 pp 1-3

[Decree No 240/1985 of the State Council on the Organization and Operation of the Ministry of Light Industry]

[Text] The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I General Provisions

Article 1. The Ministry of Light Industry carries out the policy of the party and state in the branch of light industry, providing for the advanced utilization of raw materials, supplies, fuel and energy and the continual expansion and diversification of the products.

Article 2. The Ministry of Light Industry fulfills the function of coordinating central body for the activities in its field with respect to all the socialist units subordinate to the central or local state bodies and to the cooperative and public organizations.

Article 3. The Ministry of Light Industry manages, guides and oversees the activity of the industrial centrals and of the other units subordinate to it and is responsible, as plan titular, for the fulfillment of the plan in its field of activity.

Article 4. In its activity the Ministry of Light Industry provides for the application of the laws, the decrees and the decisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 5. The Ministry of Light Industry collaborates with the other ministries and central bodies and with the local bodies in order to perform the duties that devolve upon it.

Chapter II Duties

Article 6. The Ministry of Light Industry is responsible for performing in its field of activity the duties established by means of the present decree.

Article 7. The Ministry of Light Industry provides and is responsible, within the framework of the sole national plan for economic and social development, for the growth at a steady rate of the production of textiles, garments of fabric and of fur, knitwear, leather goods, rubber, footwear, cloth and plastic technical articles, morocco leather goods, spare parts and technological components, and containers for light industry, to which end:

- a) It prepares development studies and programs, taking into account the orientations and trends of technical progress on a world level and the prospects of developing the deliveries of products of light industry in its line on the domestic and foreign market;
- b) It prepares the draft annual and long-term plans, and the special programs for products, groups of products and activities, on the basis of its own studies and the proposals of the subordinate units;
- c) It provides for the diversification of production and the continual raising of the qualitative characteristics of the products, with a view to meeting the needs of the national economy and increasing their competitiveness on the international market;
- d) It is responsible for the preparation and application of the rates of consumption of raw materials, supplies and fuel, takes steps to continually reduce the material, energy and manpower consumptions and provides for the recovery and utilization of reusable material and energy resources;
- e) It organizes the preparation of the works on the need for raw materials, supplies and equipment for the subordinate units; it provides for the balancing of the balances for raw materials, supplies, semiproducts and equipment in its jurisdiction; it prepares the material balances for the products for which it is the coordinator;
- f) It is responsible for attaining the planned production and for fulfilling the other indicators that devolve upon it from the sole national plan for economic and social development and the state budget and from the special programs, periodically informing the Council of Ministers;
- g) It approves the orders for new and modernized products and technologies in its jurisdiction, in accordance with the law;
- h) It determines the need for circulating funds for the subordinate units, in accordance with the legal norms;
- i) It analyzes the periodic reports and balance sheets of the subordinate units and prepares the ones that involve the activity of the whole ministry;
- j) It prepares and executes, in accordance with the law, the income and expense budget for the ministry's central administration and the subordinate budgetary units.

Article 8. In fulfilling the function of coordinating central body, the Ministry of Light Industry provides for:

- a) The specialization, orientation and integration of production in all the units within the branch;
- b) The cooperation between the units subordinate to it and those of other central and local bodies;
- c) The preparation, together with the plan titulars, of the draft plan in branch form, pursuing the balanced development of it;
- d) The guidance and control, over the whole branch, of: the rational utilization of the means of production, the introduction and expansion of new technology, the assimilation of new products and the improvement of the existing ones, the continual raising of the quality of the products, the raising of labor productivity and the reduction of costs, in conformity with the provisions of the special programs approved;
- e) The coordination, guidance and control of the rational use of the equipment, of all the production capacities, and the fulfillment of the plan for capital repairs on them.

Article 9. The Ministry of Light Industry is responsible for developing the activity of foreign trade and international economic cooperation in its field of activity, to which end:

- a) It prepares the export plan, makes proposals regarding the proportions, structure and orientation of the trade exchanges in prospect and is responsible for fulfilling the export tasks that devolve upon it and the tasks of international economic cooperation in its field of activity;
- b) It organizes and coordinates the activity of economic, technical and scientific collaboration and cooperation with other ministries and central bodies in the country and with foreign partners in its field of activity;
- c) It provides and is responsible for the application of the international conventions and agreements referring to the ministry's activity; it oversees and provides for the fulfillment of the obligations that result from them.

Article 10. The Ministry of Light Industry is responsible for continually raising the technical and qualitative level of the products within the branch, in accordance with the best results obtained in the country and abroad, and for ensuring, on this basis, the competitiveness of the products achieved, to which end:

- a) It coordinates and guides the activity of scientific research, technological engineering, and design in the subordinate units and takes steps to provide them with necessary technical-material means;

- b) It follows the results of the scientific research and is responsible for their utilization, providing for the introduction of technical, scientific and economic progress into the subordinate and coordinate units;
- c) It guides the activity involving inventions and innovations and concerns itself with generalizing the most important achievements;
- d) It organizes the activity of typification and standardization in its field of activity and makes proposals regarding the preparation of the typification norms and of the standards;
- e) It organizes the technical-documentation activity specific to its field of activity and provides for the informing of the subordinate units with regard to the trends of scientific progress on a national and international level;
- f) It coordinates and oversees the activity of metrology in the subordinate units.

Article 11. The Ministry of Light Industry guides and coordinates the activity of organizing production and labor in the subordinate units. In addition, it organizes the activity of preparing, applying and supervising the labor standards and norms for all categories of personnel in its sphere of activity; it organizes the preparation of uniform labor standards and norms in the economy for the work for which it is stipulated that it is the initiator; it approves the specific norm-setting methodologies and the uniform standards and norms for the branch, subbranches and other activities and oversees their manner of application; it promotes the introduction of modern methods and techniques into the organization of production and the management of the economic units.

Article 12. The Ministry of Light Industry exercises, in accordance with law, the powers regarding prices and rates in its branch and subbranches of activity.

Article 13. The Ministry of Light Industry is responsible for the application of the policy of the party and state on personnel and pay matters, to which end:

- a) It establishes uniform criteria for selection, training, advanced training, and promotion of the personnel in its branch and subbranches of activity and oversees their application;
- b) It determines the future need for personnel and takes steps to train them, in accordance with the law;
- c) It hires the personnel for its own apparatus; it appoints the management bodies of the centrals, of the comparable units and of the other directly subordinate units, in accordance with the law;
- d) It organizes and provides for the advanced training of management personnel and of specialists;

e) It is responsible for the tasks that devolve upon it with regard to the integration of education with production and scientific research and the coordination of the activity of the educational units with dual subordination in the field of preparing and fulfilling the annual plans for research, design and microproduction;

f) It participates in the preparation of the proposals regarding the improvement of the elements of the pay system, organizing the preparation of studies for this purpose;

g) It provides for the uniform application of the elements of the pay system on the basis of the principle of overall piecework for the branch and the coordinate subbranches;

h) It establishes, in accordance of the law, measures regarding labor protection and provides the best working conditions for the prevention of work accidents and occupational ailments at the subordinate units;

i) It establishes general measures for continually improving the working and living conditions of the personnel.

Article 14. The Ministry of Light Industry is responsible for also performing other duties, established in accordance with the law.

Chapter III Organization and Operation

Article 15. The Ministry of Light Industry is managed by the management council, which decides on the general matters concerning the activity of the ministry; the collective leadership of the ministry's operational activity and the providing of the implementation of the management council's decisions are achieved through its executive bureau.

The ministry's management council and its executive bureau, bodies with a deliberative character, are organized and operate in accordance with Decree No 76/1973 on the Management of the Ministries and Other Central Bodies of the State Administration on the Basis of the Principle of Collective Leadership.

Article 16. The minister informs the management council of the ministry about the main problems solved in the period between sessions.

Article 17. The Ministry of Light Industry has in its management one minister, one first deputy minister and three deputy ministers.

The first deputy minister and the deputy ministers are appointed by means of a presidential decree, and their duties are established by the management council of the ministry.

Article 18. The minister represents the ministry in relations with other bodies and organizations in the country and in international relations.

Article 19. The Technical and Economic Council, a working body alongside the collective-leadership bodies of the ministry, is organized and operates, in accordance with Decree No 78/1973, within the Ministry of Light Industry.

Article 20. The Ministry of Light Industry has the following organizational structure:

- a) The Directorate for the Plan, Production and Development;
- b) The Technical Directorate;
- c) The Directorate for Investments and Mechanical Power;
- d) The Directorate for Finances and Prices;
- e) The Directorate for Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation;
- f) The Directorate for Supply and Contracting;
- g) The Directorate for Organization, Control, Personnel, Education and Pay;
- h) The Legal and Arbitration Office;
- i) The Secretariat and Administrative Service;
- j) The Special Bureau.

The organizational structure according to work departments and the maximum number of personnel in the apparatus of the ministry are those given in Appendix 1* and Appendix 2.*

The duties and the operating standards of the departments mentioned in Paragraph 1 are established by the management council of the ministry, in accordance with the legal norms.

Article 21. The Ministry of Light Industry has subordinate to it industrial centrals and units comparable to them, enterprises, units for scientific research, technological engineering, and design, other units, specialized secondary schools and vocational schools for the training of specialized personnel.

Article 22. The Ministry of Light Industry has directly subordinate to it the units given in Appendix 3 [appendix not reproduced].

Chapter IV Final Provisions

Article 23. The personnel transferred in the interest of service or moved in the same unit to positions with lower pay levels and the personnel becoming

* The appendices are communicated to the institutions involved.

available as a result of the application of the provisions of the present decree have the rights provided in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 on the Establishment of the Uniform Structural Standards for the Economic Units.

Article 24. The provisions of Decree No 367/1980 on Some Measures for the Rational Utilization of the Personnel in the Socialist Units, whose applicability was extended by means of Decree No 451/1984, do not apply in 1985 to the posts in the apparatus of the Ministry of Light Industry and to those in the units to and from which personnel are transferred as a result of the provisions of the present decree.

Article 25. The provisions of Article 2 of Decree No 409/1976 on the Establishment of Some Measures as a Result of the Improvement of the Organizational Structure of the Ministries and Other Central Bodies continue to apply.

Article 26. Appendices 1-3 are an integral part of the present decree.

Article 27. Decree No 657/1969 on the Organization and Operation of the Ministry of Light Industry is repealed.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
Chairman of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 8 August 1985
No 240.

12105
CSO: 2700/7

YUGOSLAVIA

RESERVISTS' FAILURE TO RESPOND TO MILITARY CALL-UP NOTED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1801 7 Jul 85
pp 18-19

[Article by Stipe Sikavica: "Empty Spaces in the Machinery"]

[Text] Military reservists at times tend to turn a deaf ear to military exercise call-ups. There exists a significant difference in military reservists' responses from region to region...

Lietenant Colonel Leo Korelec, editor in chief of NASA VOJSKA (the party paper for the Ljubljana military region) states, "In the past few years a certain number of military reservists have not answered military exercise call-ups, including those whose absence cannot be justified." Immediately after citing this "certain number" he frames his argument that he is not an "alarmist", and that this "does not affect the military readiness of territorial units".

The question is, would this argument in principle hold up under a critical test? The Slovene example served as the incentive to look for the answers in the "appropriate place", to at least two of the basic questions: is there a "model" of the above theme which is applicable to the entire country?

In searching for the answers to these and other questions, "all roads" lead to the Inspector General of National Defense. One of the main players of this institution, Major General Danilo Zezelj, warned that it is worthwhile to clearly differentiate responses of the military reservists during times of "testing the readiness of the unit", and responses when they are interrupted by "other forms of training and testing".

"Of course a general picture for the whole country can be drawn", continues the General, "and taking everything into consideration, it is favorable, but..."

Rifle Carriers and Officers

That "but" evokes that well known folk witticism about the cabbage and the meat, whic, in a simplistic manner, expresses the relative nature of

statistical averages. "A noticeable difference even exists in military reservists' responses to mobilization and other exercises from region to region, from commune to commune: in some areas the response is consistently excellent every year, and in others, they are lucky to exceed 70 percent of those called up."

"It is ideal", states Colonel General Dimko Kocincki, also one of the higher ranking officials in the Inspector General's staff, "when 100 percent respond, when as a result all formation spaces in the units are filled during a mobilization test, and when all who are called-up respond to other forms of training."

But, we would say there are serious deviations from this "ideal". The comrades from the Inspector General's have precise indicators for the regions and communes where the "situation not only is unsatisfactory, but has already become a negative trend, and if it is not stopped by organized and timely actions, it will continue into the future."

Some think that the fighting ability of territorial units will "not be significantly lessened" if just a small number of rifle carriers fail to show up at a mobilization alert. General Zezelj and Colonels Miladin Simovic and Ljubomir Domazetovic place such an opinion under the category of "arguable", and emphasize that units which during a mobilization alert have 20 or more empty places in their formations are not components who can perform war-time tasks. But even this problem cannot be "considered unilaterally", because it is not the same thing if the fighting machinery is missing an "ordinary" rifle-carrier or a military vehicle driver, radio-telegraph operator, or an officer.

(Ir)responsibility

Mobilization exercises are characterized as "being different" and military reservists are usually called-up by surprise, which is why it is easy to find supporting points for those who do not show up, under so called objective circumstances. However, how can absences from other exercises and tests be explained, especially on non-working days (Saturday and Sunday) when, according to law, reservists must receive notice at least 30 days prior to the beginning of the exercise?

All questions significant to the defense of the country reach the analytic "reflector" of the highly qualified people of the Chief of Staff of the Yugoslav National Army (YNA). This is how, immersed in the red tape of "studious discussion" the theme we are talking about was uncovered. In the chief of staff's analysis, near the top of the list of causes for gaps in the defensive lines is that which is called - responsibility, under which "hat" follows a detailed explanation. General Zezelj disagrees on just one point: he would uncatagorically place responsibility in first place among the causes, and accordingly he "differentiates" between individual and collective responsibility. He also tends, at least in this case, to talk more about its negation, that is, irresponsibility. Collective responsibility, according to this analysis and according to general opinion, most of all pertains to the work of professional agencies and socio-political

communities (secretariats, committees and other bodies). Accordingly, a rule can be formulated: where agencies work competently, very conscientiously, and responsibly, there are very few gaps in defense preparations, and military responses lead to the fewest punitive measures. These communes could be proclaimed models (again: according to the data base of the Inspector General). Here we will cite the small Bosnia-Herzegovian commune of Srbac, which an Inspector General's team, led by Major General Miroslav Kundacin, sped through near the end of May. First of all, here the "paper" communication lines are all in order between, let us say, the Secretariat for National Defense, the communal staff of territorial defense and the Committee for National Defense and Social Protection. Administering has almost dissolved, and among these bodies and other assembly agencies, socio-political organizations, work organizations, and local communities, in sum all those dealing with defense, it leads to measures resulting in sincere and fertile agreements and arrangements which cut off "pointless dialogues" before they begin. In this commune - the socialization of defense is in no way received as empty phrases. What's more: whenever a problem crops up in a cell area of defense preparations, comrades from professional bodies immediately rush to the work organization, local community, village or hamlet, and there, in person, help people, explain anything to them and direct them. What is the logical relationship of such labor and relationships? Reservist response last year from the territory of this commune, reached an excellent 99.6 percent, and has been this way for years.

Unjustified reservist absences from military exercises are often met by the people's vehement judgement, "They should be ashamed of themselves. Have they forgotten that the defense of this country is the most honored obligation?" If there is any truth in this judgement, it is viewed from the point of view of romantic fanaticism. If defense is removed from the causal chain of life, a faulty picture is drawn. People, especially the young, when estimating anticipated living standards, unemployment and other forms of crisis elements, as well as the activities of this or that enemy, find themselves less willing to defend their country, therefore it is easy for them to ignore notice of a military exercise.

Injustice - "Through the Back Door"

Population migration is a sign of the times we live in. Young people (but not exclusively the young) of our land while "looking for a living" frequently change residencies. From a defense aspect, this problem is multi-dimensional and extremely significant. This fact provokes frustration from the angle of reservist responses to military exercises, when some reservists are simply lost from the "register" of the commune territory without a sound or a trace. But here we are on the turf of individual responsibility. According to the Law on Military Reservists, every reservist or a member of his family is obligated to report any "change in apartment or residence" to "the appropriate socio-political community" within a specified period of time, so that the "appropriate agency" at all times will have precise data on military reservists. But when this obligation is not honored based on demand and need, how will

other obligations of a "lesser order" (changes in work place, in the health "bulletin", in educational qualifications, etc.) be honored! From this arises quite a few vagueries, misunderstandings, and even tragi-comedic situations, even though out of date and insufficient data on military reservists brings up negligence on the part of the relevant agencies in individual communes.

Certainly for this very reason some changes and additions to the law were introduced in order to reflect the above. (At the very hour that we are writing this text - Monday, 1 July, a discussion is going on in the Council for National Defense of the Federal Assembly of Communes of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, concerning a draft for enacting a law on changes and additions to the Law on Military Reservists. In this document, among other things, is suggested that every necessary piece of data on military reservists be entered into the data base of the "appropriate agency" of the commune on whose territory his work relationship began.)

These are just a few examples from the darker side of personal responsibility. However, there are infinitely more bright examples, some of which can be measured by the standards of our war time victory. Here are some examples from real life: One young man from Sanski Most heard about his call-up for this year's May exercise by telephone from his mother, and he arrived by taxi (!) on time, even though his "pockets", as it turned out, were nearly empty. Or, the group of young men from the hamlet of Kozica (of the same commune), thinking that they needed to show up at the "gathering point" because through the "grapevine" they had heard that there was a "martial alert", during the night covered 30 kilometers to get there, and these young men were not even upset when they found out that they had worn themselves out "for nothing", because their company was not involved. Or, one reservist from Srbac, even though he was deeply in mourning over a death in the family, got himself together enough to respond to the military call-up...and so on.

Psychologists assert that nothing acts more destructively on the psyche of our people than - injustice. Colonel Simovic states that injustice at the lower echelons finds its way into the area of defense and cites the following examples: some reservists take the easy way out, so called community service, even though they have no kind of justifiable reason to do so; some are frequently called for training and exercises, and others rarely; some units are easily given "visas" to get out of exercises, and some do not given them even for the strongest reasons, etc. All together, some people respond as the man-o-war of their family and friends, or else they are totally blind, that is, they cannot see the consequences of their unlawful deeds, or else they are extremely irresponsible.

Training Itself Bears the Brunt of the Criticism

Fuad Kurbegovic, an electrical engineer from Sanski Most, a reserve captain and the commander's deputy for political work within a larger territorial unit, at a meeting of a "wartime" political section, thought aloud, "A man works like a dog all week in a factory or someplace else, and then Saturday and Sunday he has to go to military training. The problem is not

having to jump into a uniform, but that the training itself does not really resemble training at all, and the man complains about wasted time."

Kurbegovic has not been the only one to raise his voice. Objections can be heard from many quarters concerning the content and method of training reservists, most of all the 1 or 2 day training (Saturday-Sunday) is submitted to criticism. Even within the competent offices of the YNA General Staff they say that the criticism is justified, because training suffers from many weaknesses. Most of all, say the authorities, these relate to training which is "organized and conducted by reserve officers".

Punitive policies also are found on the "list" of causes which affect military reservist response. It is interesting that opinions on punitive policy are sharply split: one side considers the penalties stated in the Law on Military Reservists, 1,500 to 5,000 dinars or 30 days in jail (for reservists who for unjustified reasons do not respond to the call-up), ridiculously small, and therefore inefficient; and the other side is in principle against "solving the problem by penalties".

According to certain statistics, as well as those given to us by the commune magistrate from Djakovica, Stjepan Smider, everything ends up in front of the magistrate, and most often violators are fined 3,000 dinars. Military reservists themselves point out a certain kind of violator, the "spoiled rich" who get out of military training by going immediately to the magistrate to pay the penalty.

Without a doubt, penalties have their function even in the field of defense, even if this "shock therapy" does not cut to the quick. General Kocinski and Colonel Domazetovic think that defense would be standing on "glass legs" if its center of support depended on penalties. Along with what has already been stated, they tirelessly insist on organized and continuous political work in all "social structures and surroundings". They also think that we should not be so stingy in appreciation, medals and other recognition for those military reservists and reserve officers who unsparingly participate and unquestioningly carry out all tasks in connection with defense preparations within their area.

There are even some well-intentioned people who think that if some exercises in preparing society for its defense do not go too well, it is "nothing to get too upset about", and this includes responses of military reservists, because, by God, we would in a real war time situation "all act differently", that is to say, much better. The delusion that all this does not affect this extremely sensitive field cannot be defended. This dilemma is the fact that these delusions themselves are dangerous.

12788

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YUGOSLAVIA

SLOVENE PARTY GATHERING ARGUES CULTURAL ISSUES

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[Article by Dusan Velikovic: "Slovene Swath"]

[Text] Because it was not scheduled to be an "accounting of negative tendencies" or a "branding of excessive phenomena", the CC (Central Committee) of Slovenia's session progressed in a new spirit.

When after a full six months of preparations, the entire Central Committee meets from morning to night to discuss culture, defining the essence and goal of cultural policies as the "fight for continuity and further development of our own value system", it is not hard to feel the presentiment that even the results of the meeting would be unusual.

Not scheduled with the goal in mind of being an "accounting of negative tendencies", a "sharp differentiation", or a "branding of excessive phenomena", but with the ambition to determine, in the broadest sense, the existing situation and to point out a possible global vision, the fifteenth session of the CC of the LC (League of Communists) of Slovenia cut, according to the general impression, a wide political swath.

This meeting was followed on the next day by euphoric evaluations such as:

"This is news which should become contagious."

"This discussion came about in the nick of time. Finally concrete action is accompanying a painting of the situation and numerous statements."

"It has now been shown that the politization of culture and the culturing of politics are inextricably mutual processes."

Such opinions are statements following the roundtable discussion on the theme of "The League of Communists and Culture", organized by the paper KOMUNIST, to immediately follow discussion at the highest level

of Slovenian communists. Participants in the roundtable discussion, gathered from all over Yugoslavia (Milan Curcinov, Sveta Lukic, Tomislav Previsic, Matjaz Kmecl and Josip Kosuta) stressed tolerance, reasoned polemics, the absence of improvisation, and good preparation.

Controversial Questions

Sveta Lukic added the following:

"The hope exists that we have caught the last possible train toward a true, modern understanding and determination of culture."

Clear signs of this new understanding of culture and cultural policies were noticeable even in Dr Boris Majer's introductory paper. In a nutshell:

"If we hold on to the old parochial understanding of culture, production will continue to remain alienated from culture."

"Controversial questions must be resolved more quickly, and the LC should address the intelligentsia's critical energy toward the true sources of social anomalies."

"No attempt at ideological directing - as well as ideological misuse of art - to this point has ever turned out well."

"It is absurd and reactionary to close ourselves off from modern artistic currents in the world."

"Culture's lack of dialogue and polemics in solving controversial questions is one of the causes for often unnecessary political neuroses and ideological intolerance."

It seems that such a discussion, in preparation since the beginning of January of this year, is not solely the result of organized discussion within the Party and work collectives during the last six months. It is the spirit of tolerance in "rational polemics" and insistence upon subtle definitions, the results of a whole series of incidents, which has made Slovenia an interesting area for observing (and mutual penetration) of culture and politics in the last few years.

Dialogue After the Letter

"In Slovenia, for a few years now, a bitter public discussion on certain themes which are at once both cultural and polemical has existed," states Cyril Zlobec, one of the participants in the culture session, in an interview with NIN. "There have been various suggestions about how to resolve these controversial questions, among which is the well known idea of a complete differentiation between those who are active enemies on the one side, and active fighters in the name of the League of Communists on the other. This is the extreme used in resolving

all difficult problems in a definitive conflict. I think that this session, and the ensuing discussion have shown that it is more intelligent and mature to resolve things peacefully, if elements which are not favorable to socialist society are taken as normal phenomena in democratic development. Completely united positions can only be talked about in a society which is not democratic."

"The last train", apparently was caught a few years back, and the polemics which originated in that process were unusual both in their participants and in their themes. The beginnings of this new tone in the discussion, clearly expressed in the just completed session, can be traced to the past polemics between Tarac Kermauner and Mitja Ribicic, then president of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia.

In an "open letter" addressed to Ribicic, Tarac Kermauner at that time wrote:

"In the report which you read at the programmatic session of RK SSRN (Republic Conference Socialist Alliance of Working People), held on 21 January 1981, you took critical shots at certain phenomena in Slovenian culture; among which was something which you ascribed to me...I feel obligated to correct and elaborate upon your report."

Ribicic's answer, to the surprise of those who by habit and previous experience could never have imagined such an exchange, came quickly, under the title, "The Socialist Alliance is Clear Water Where Every Frog can be Seen."

Who Stands Where

"The time is ripe for everyone to commit himself and say where he stands and what he wants," he wrote in his reply.

As a characteristic incident from the period of the years preceding the current session on the culture of Slovenian communists, certainly the long running, open and democratic discussion about the NOVA REVIJA, a magazine which to this day challenges dubious ideology, but not administrative exclusiveness, should be mentioned.

This year's granting of the Presernov award, the highest Slovenian acknowledgement for achievement in the arts, to a writer who it is said is involved in sharp polemics in the society where he lives, could also be a good illustration of the specific atmosphere in culture in these regions. The president of the jury for deciding the award's challenge at that time noted:

"Clearly in social and political life disagreements, contrasts, and even irresolvable antagonisms exist, but this does not mean that one arts award should be allowed to be under the influence of such dilemmas."

One totally fresh example bears witness to the broad range of newer cultural-political interests, polemics and misunderstandings, as well as confrontational methods. On the eve of the CC Slovenia session, a "Challenge" supported by the Commission of the Society of Slovenian Writers for the Defense of Thought and Writing, and signed by Veno Taufer, president of the commission, and Tone Partljic, president of the Society of Writers, appeared in Ljubljana's DNEVNIK. It is stated in the "Challenge" that the "Society of Slovenian Writers decisively rejects" what the Federal Secretary of Internal Affairs recently said about writing petitions for establishing closed tribunals, home universities, or councils for the defense of artistic and other freedoms being forms of hostile activity.

Taking such a statement as a judgement directed at a large number of cultural workers from the fields of literature, sociology and philosophy, the signatories of the "Challenge" concluded that "such labelling" is actually an "open invitation to the organs of repression to mow down democratic freedoms and human rights, as well as the freedom of artistic and scientific creativity."

In the same issue of DNEVNIK an editorial from Milan Meden, editor-in-chief, appeared wherein the inspiration for the "Challenge" can be seen in his imprecise interpretation of what the Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs had said, while at the same time he supports greater subtilty in such cases.

Against Repression

Milan Meden, a member of the CC LC Slovenia, also spoke at the session on culture:

"In the recent past we have quite authoritatively maintained that the severity of some ideological attacks which abused culture and the arts, were more than anything the results of reactionary influence from abroad, or even organized activity against the socialist self-management structure. There is something to this, but the current problems are more than anything the result of strong tensions and contradictions on the domestic scene. This obscuring of our self-managing future can mean just one thing: opening the door to genuine socialist domination, which means bureaucratic and state-socialist repression and anti-cultural despotism."

Sensitivity to anything bearing the taint of repression was apparently one of the main characteristics of the discussion about culture. A real polemical spark followed from this. Following the speech of Maribor's Aloisa Vindis in which, in addition to culture he discussed enemies to society as well as bright examples of the work of those belonging to VOS (the Security and Intelligence Service), the police and other agencies, was the example of Cyril Zlobec:

"Things are not that simple. I myself was a member of VOS in the summer of 1943, and the KNOJ (Liberation Army Corps of Yugoslavia) in 1945, but I must say that today in culture we cannot act from the positions of those days. Times have changed, and luckily we have with them."

After the session ended, we looked for Cyril Zlobec to finish his train of thought. In the meantime, we would like to note one characteristic statement from his speech: when culture acquires some aspects of political action, it is normal that politics becomes involved, but it is a big mistake when the police attempt to act in behalf of politics.

"I was," Cyril Zlobec later explains, "a member of the Security and Intelligence Service, and later, the Liberation of Yugoslavia Army Corps as a young 18 year old partizan. However, in those days the situation was very simple, the enemies were on one side, and the revolution and the NOB (National Liberation Struggle) were on the other. To apply that experience to today's situation is totally wrong and creates immense confusion. Vindis was mistaken in trying to find a method for solving today's conflicts from decades long past."

Let us return to the session itself and note a few details. First of all we should note that the fact that many guests participated, non-members of the CC, along with the members themselves, as was pointed out numerous times, contributed to the discussion's gaining the dimension of being a broad and open consideration of culture. Not even the old polemics between Andrej Marinc, president of the Central Committee, and Tone Partlijc, president of the Society of Slovenian Writers prevented the latter from being invited to speak at the session. Mentioning this fact at the beginning of his speech, Partljic said:

High Expectations

"The perspective of our cultural policy has been to aid society in its true self-managing organization, and not the self-management paranoia or accumulation and inflation of self-management bodies. Throughout history, as well as today, cultural workers have been honest, enthusiastic and visionary promoters for their own people and other brotherly peoples, which is precisely why it is not necessary to look for enemies of socialism and the state among them.

For the end of this report, having begun with optimistic statements from the "roundtable" on the "The League of Communists and Culture", we will single out, in the same reportorial style, a thought from a conversation with Cyril Zlobec, the president of the League of Writers of Yugoslavia:

"I hope that this session will help bring about a radical change in society's relationship toward culture. Possibly because here we have not spoken about culture as well as creative energy as being some sector of social life which must be negated for sentimental reasons.

One statement from Rade Konstantinovic comes to mind, 'The crisis is great, and therefore we have high expectations.' This is precisely the kind of situation which fits the world crisis, even total crisis. At the same time we all feel that something significant is happening in this country for better or for worse, and that something significant and great needs to be done in order to emerge from this situation.

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CROATIAN LC JOURNAL 'IN CRISIS,' REJECTS UNACCEPTABLE ARTICLES

[Editorial Report] The Zagreb weekly DANAS of 24 September 1985, on pages 22-24, reports that the latest issue of the Croatian party journal NASE TEME [which has not yet published an issue for 1985] has not been released for publication because of two unacceptable articles. One was entitled "The Historical Assumptions for Socialism" by Milan Kangrga, one of the leading members of the former PRAXIS group, in which it is said that "socialism has not been achieved in our country," and the socialist revolution is still to be carried out. Furthermore, Kangrga is said to blatantly slander the Croatian LC leadership, accusing it of persecuting "all those who support... bourgeois freedoms in our country." The second article by Jelica Kurjak, "Current Sociopolitical Trends in the USSR," says that the USSR has not essentially changed since the time of the New Economic Policy [NEP], that the USSR is now ruled by a "usurpatory oligarchy and that the only changes possible are changes of personalities within the party which has usurped all power."

In addition to these two articles, the ensuing statement of resignation by NASE TEME's editor-in-chief Veselin Golubovic was also withdrawn from publication, and Golubovic has been issued a final party warning. According to Damir Grubisa, director of the Croatian LC Center for Ideological-Theoretical Work which publishes NASE TEME, the publishers decided to withdraw this issue from distribution and afterward called a meeting of the editorial board where it was said that the editor, because of the Center's decision, had submitted his statement of resignation. The DANAS report of the meeting indicated there was disagreement which reflected the demoralizing control of the publishers over the editorial board. For his part, Golubovic said he resigned because he was "being manipulated by a type of consciousness which is arrogantly and bureaucratically tyrannical, ideologically narrow, dogmatic and sectarian, is against civilization, culture, and humanity, and which favors a primitivist mentality."

This is reportedly the first time such a crisis has arisen around this journal which otherwise reflects the conservative views of the Croatian LC leadership. Furthermore, the situation has been complicated, as the DANAS article by Jelena Lovric notes, by the fact that the Belgrade publication KNJIZEVNOST has published the Kangrga article in its No 9-10 1985 issue, providing the basis for another Serb-Croat party confrontation reminiscent of the White Book dispute. Also published with the article was a letter to KNJIZEVNOST's editor